THE

Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. VI.—NEW SERIES, No. 24.] LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1846. [PRICE 6*d.*

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE CHURCH IN DANGER—REALLY.

Is it come to this? Are the main pillars of the Established Church bulging, quivering, cracking, exhibiting awful tokens of its approaching downfall? What! so soon! so suddenly! so sweepingly!——we cannot finish the sentence. Astonishment smites us on the mouth, and commands silence. We predicted it more than once; but, as the witch of Endor trembled in the presence of Samuel's ghost, the fact which verifies our prediction no sooner makes its appearance than we are overcome with wonder. Even yet we know not how to credit it. Were it not too strange for fiction, we should look upon it as an invention—an idle tale—the summer lightning of an imagination unable to contain itself. But, strange as it is, it is true to human nature when placed in the position of our British aristocracy. There is a genuine selfishness in it which all will recognise as the offspring of monopoly—gigantic in its build, and shameless in its front. It belongs to the peerage of political profligacy.

The fact which has scared us from our propriety is as follows:—Every one knows that the House of Lords, no long time since, appointed a select committee to inquire into "the special burdens on land." Of this committee Lord Stradbroke is a member. That he is devotedly attached to the Established Church, it were superfluous to mention—is he not an ultra Tory, and a peer of the realm to boot? Well! the noble lord, enlightened, no doubt, by the free-trade policy of Ministers, has rushed to the conclusion that tithes, commuted or uncommuted, belong, of right, to the landlords—that their appropriation to ecclesiastical purposes is a clean abstraction from the wealth of the rightful lords of the soil—and that an entire transference of them to the pockets of land-owners—the *vacuum* being filled up from the consolidated fund, or, in other words, by means of general taxation—would be a stroke of just, beneficial, and masterly policy. Lord Stradbroke did not bury this project in his own bosom, but, as became his patriotism, embodied it in a resolution, and submitted it to the select committee. His colleagues were far from frightened, evinced no surprise, and, least of all, betrayed any symptoms of offence. With ominous calmness, and in a full committee, they entered upon a consideration of the question, gravely discussed it, and finally divided upon it. How stood the result? Thus: the ayes and noes were equal, and nothing but a technical rule of the House of Lords, which in such cases holds the proposition not to be affirmed, prevented this pious scheme from coming before Parliament with the recommendation of a select committee of peers.

A few words on this significant event may be "fitly spoken."

Through the fissure of this fact, as through a chasm in the earth, we may look down to the very base of our Parliamentary church—may discern with unerring accuracy the *stratum* upon which it rests for support—and, with the knowledge thus gained, may modify our traditional notions of its stability, and may even calculate, with an approach to precision, the kind and the amount of force required for its overthrow. The edifice, it is plain, reposes upon no immovable foundation. Although secure for many years against external agitation, it may be subverted, at any moment, by an upheaving from beneath. The storms of Dissent may scarcely shake it—the subterraneous vibrations of political expediency may bring it down with ease. It stands not upon truth, but upon the convenience of men in power—it is not flanked and buttressed by an enlightened affection, but shored up, for the time being, by worldly, and, therefore, mutable interests. Royal patronage, aristocratic preferences, the *prestige* of respectability, a prescription in its favour hoary with age, popular acquiescence, and boundless wealth — what are all these as bulwarks against the incursions of ermined spoliators? We have heard much of the affection of the higher classes for the Church. Frequent and noisy as were their professions of it, we never estimated it at an extravagant rate. If others have done so, they may now correct their mistake. Neither light nor love have been component parts of these men's attachment to the national church. The institution suited their interests—constituted an important part of the political machinery which it was theirs to manage—helped to perpetuate an artificial system, the workings of which brought them both riches and power. The corn-laws abolished, of what paramount political use is the church? As an engine for class purposes it has lost much of its efficiency. Its wealth remains its chief attraction to needy landlords—and this, to be available for immediate purposes, must be shared forthwith. The peers have been regarded as the pillars of the church. If they are its chief support, how long will it stand?

The incident reminds us afresh of the absolute worthlessness of false but oft-repeated axioms when the use of them ceases to be profitable. How often have we been told that church property is sacred and inalienable! How piously has Toryism descanted upon the sacrilege involved in the appropriation of the least fraction of it to secular purposes! Even now, we are stirred to emotion by the pathos with which noble lords have been wont to bless the munificence of our ancestors, and start horror-stricken at the vehemence with which they urged home the inquiry, whether we were prepared to lay unhallowed hands upon property held by the church upon a tenure more ancient than that of princes or peers. The consummate actors! How glorious on the stage! off of it, how mean, sneaking, and common-place! Where is the awful invocation now? the glowing eulogium? the earnest protest? the irrevocable vow? Do not the spirits of these departed solemnities haunt these Protectionist advocates of confiscation, and reproach them with their infidelity to "the venerable church"? From pole to pole of opinion, they pass with a rapidity which mocks calculation, and laughs to scorn all human foresight. The inalienable revenues may be diverted, not merely to secular, but to *private* purposes, when noble lords so will it. Thus will it be with other oracular utterances when the time comes. Their use is to serve as a substitute for arguments—they have weight with the unthinking—they are triumphantly handed about by the shallow—they are stones with which to pelt the timid. But of this we may be assured, and the fact upon which we comment lends fresh certainty to it, that none have less faith in such axioms, than those who are most assiduous in giving them currency—and that, whenever they are found to stand in the way of personal aggrandisement, the great ones of society will kick them aside without hesitation or remorse.

We fancy—is it all fancy?—we can discover in the above incident a new and powerful motive to increased exertion. The real and essential weakness of a wealthy political church stands revealed before our eyes. Based upon conventionalisms, it cannot long resist the tide of events just now setting in. Every change, social, commercial, and political, leaves it exposed to new elements of destruction. It is out of keeping with the present order of things. Driven from one position to another by the force of circumstances, our rulers see it from fresh points of observation; and, where it once elicited their sympathies, it begins to excite their lust or to alarm their fears. Now, therefore, is our time for activity. We ought to take care that, as they change their opinions, they substitute sound ones for those which are unsound. We must have no confiscation of ecclesiastical revenues to private purposes—no repetition of Henry the Eighth's cupidity or violence—no revolution for class enrichment. But, if we would prevent this, the danger of which is shown to be imminent, it becomes us "to be instant in season and out of season;" labouring with cheerful energy to diffuse amongst the people that information which, whilst it will check all popular impatience, and control popular indignation, will, also, keep back titled "dodgers" from "picking and stealing." Let us see to it that national resources be properly applied, not shamefully confiscated!

VESTIGIA EPISCOPALIA.—I. SWISS AFFAIRS AND "THE HIGHLAND HOST."

It is now universally acknowledged that the study of the past is the best means of shielding us against the perils of the future, and that by noticing how a principle—good or bad—has been laid down, acted upon, and developed in former times, we can almost generally foresee its workings in our own days, and thus endeavour to assist or to prevent its growth. We shall not, therefore, offer any apology for presenting to our readers, under the title *Vestigia Episcopalia*, the results of a few rambles among the walks of ecclesiastical literature; the interest arising from the comparative study of ancient and contemporary history will be sufficiently apparent; and the mere necessity of correcting several misstatements which have too often crept into public documents under the cloak of party prejudice, will justify, we hope, our antiquarian digressions.

The thought of devoting three or four paragraphs to the subject above mentioned, struck us whilst reading, the other day, in a French paper, an account of the ecclesiastical disturbances raging throughout the Canton de Vaud: we saw that a great many clergymen of the Church of England, including dignitaries, had addressed to the persecuted ministers a condoling letter; and although we rejoiced at such a reasonable demonstration of sympathy and brotherly love, we questioned if the members of the Anglican Church were acting in perfect accordance with the principles of their establishment. That we may the better ascertain this fact, let us turn to the pages of history, and see how, *under perfectly similar circumstances*, the British establishment behaved, when she was strong enough to command the gibbet, the rack, and the bayonet.

It was soon after the restoration; a licentious tyrant endeavoured to smother, at their birth, the liberties which a glorious revolution had guaranteed to the English nation. What a period for freedom of conscience, that, when writers penned such paragraphs as the following:—

"God and nature seem to delight in variety; and in making men and women, all in the world, of different features, airs, dimensions, complexions, &c. And how do we know that Almighty God is so much displeased with variety of opinions, also, as some men imagine? Though we have different physiognomies and different eyesights, yet we all continue to be men. And though we have different judgments, minds, and opinions; some more clear, and some more purblind; yet we may all continue Christians. But suppose other men do not (cannot for their lives) see so well as we, or so well as the synod, or the magistrate: must we therefore pull out or put out their eyes first, and then to the gaol, and after all to the pit of hell; and for expedition sake, thither with the more speed (until the writ *de hæretico comburendo* was cancelled), with fire and faggot?"*

"It is no great adventure to say, that the world was better ordered under the ancient monarchies and commonwealths; that the number of virtuous men was then greater; and that the Christians found fairer quarter under those, than among themselves. Nor hath there any advantage accrued unto mankind, from that more perfect and practical model of human society, except the speculations of a better way to future happiness, concerning which the very guides disagree; and of those few that follow, no man is suffered to pass without paying at their turnpikes. All which hath proceeded from no other reason, but that men, instead of squaring their governments by the rule of Christianity, have shaped Christianity by the measures of their governments; have reduced that straight line by the crooked; and, bungling divine and human things together, have been always backing and serving one another, to frame an irregular figure of political incongruity."†

And now let us illustrate these grievous complaints by one fact from the history of Charles II. We quote Defoe:—

"As to the word *Whig*, it is Scots. The use of it began there when the western men, called Cameronians, took arms frequently for their religion. *Whig* was a word used in those parts for a kind of liquor the western Highlandmen used to drink, the composition of which I do not remember, but so became common to those people who drank it. These men took up arms about the year 1681, being the insurrection at Bothwell Bridge. The Duke of Monmouth, then in favour here, was sent against them by King Charles, and defeated them. At his return, instead of thanks for his good service, he found himself ill treated for using them mercifully. And Lauderdale told Charles, *with an oath*, that the Duke had been so civil to the *Whigs* because he was a Whig himself in his heart." ‡

The lenient conduct of the Government towards the Nonconformists is thus described by Mallet §:—

"Those who governed Scotland under Charles II., in the latter part of his reign, with no less cruelty than impolicy, made the people of that country desperate, and then plundered, imprisoned, and butchered them for the natural effects of such despair. The best and worthiest men were often the objects of their most unrelenting fury. Under the title of fanatics, or seditious, they affected to herd, and, of course, persecuted whoever wished well to his country, or ventured to stand up in defence of the laws and a legal government. I have now in my hands the copy of a warrant, signed by King Charles himself, for military execution upon them without process or conviction; and I know that the original is still kept in the Secretary's office for that part of the United Kingdom."

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* "Naked Truth," part ii., 2nd edit., p. 12.
† Andrew Marvel.
‡ Review of the British Nation, Vol. vii., No. 75.
§ Preface to "Amyntor and Theodora." 8vo. Lond. 1745.

Hume's narrative of the same subject everybody knows; but the most important document relating to the state of affairs in Scotland is, undoubtedly, the letter which was published in "Blackwood's Magazine" for April, 1817. We reprint it verbatim:—

"*The Highland Host.*—In the beginning of the year 1678, about eighteen months before the breaking out of the memorable insurrection which led to the battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, ten thousand Highlanders were brought down from their mountains, and quartered upon the western counties, for the purpose of suppressing the field meetings and conventicles of the Presbyterians. This 'Highland Host,' as it was called, after committing many disorders, and 'eating up' the disaffected, was ordered home again by the Government, the undisciplined Gaul being found too ignorant and rapacious to observe, on all occasions, the proper distinctions between the loyal and the 'loveable' supporters of prelacy, and the contumacious and uncourtly Covenanters. The following account is extracted from the Woodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library: it appears to have been written by an eye-witness, but has no signature*:—

"'But, sir, the pleasantness of this show is indeed sadly mixed and marred; for this unhallowed, and many of them unchristened rabble, beside their free quarters, wherein they kill and destroy, bestial at their pleasures, without regard to the commands of some of their discreeter officers, rob all that comes to hand, whether in houses or in the highways; so that no man may pass safely from house to house; and this insolence in the houses where they are quartered fills poor women and children with terror, and both men and women with great vexation. They make, also, excursions in tens and twelves upon other places, and especially under cloud of night, and break into houses with loaded pistols and naked swords, cursing and swearing that they shall burn and kill if all be not readily given that they demand. I hear not yet of any killed by them, but several are grievously wounded and beaten; and, in effect, the poor people's lives, goods, and chastity are exposed to the cruelty of these strange locusts. Many of the country people have left and abandoned their houses and all to their mercy. The other day I heard that, at the burying of a child, the burial company was assaulted by some of these ruffians, and, after a great scuffle, the mort-cloth was robbed off the coffin; and that notwithstanding all that the officers could do to hinder or recover it. They tell me, also, that some of these savages, not knowing what the coffin meaned, as being a thing with them not usual, would have broken it open and searched it, if not restrained by their neighbours. In some places they begin to exact money over and above their victuals, and also to make the people pay for dry quarters (that is, for men that they have not), and for assistant quarters (that is, when they contract, and make the places they leave free pay in money, and yet the places that they lie upon do really maintain all). I am further told that evil company is like to corrupt good manners, and that even many of the militia forces and Perthshire gentlemen begin to take free quarters. But it is like that a little more time with our march westward will furnish much more matter of this kind; for the marches are indeed the sorest and most afflicting to the poor people, seeing that partly for the service, and partly under pretence thereof, horses are forced, and many of them not restored; as likewise there is little order kept in the march, but they run out and spread themselves over the country, and catch all that they can lay hold upon; for, on these occasions, whatever thing they can get is clear prey, without any fear of recovery. And yet all these are said to be but whips, wherewith this country is scourged, in respect of the scorpions intended for Ayrshire; and some of the committee being spoke to about the abuse of free quarters, said that the quarters now taken were but transient quarters, but, after the return made about the band, there would be destructive quarters ordered against its refusers. Yet I would not have you think that all those Highlanders behave after the same manner . . . . but all of them take free quarters, and that at their own discretion."—Fol. i. 1678.

To conclude: when a church has such iniquitous precedents—when it derives its existence, its strength, its influence, from persecutions and bloodshed—when its fabric is constructed upon the basis of sectarianism—how can it consistently protest against the use of the like means abroad? The defender of the faith, and the right reverends of the British establishment, instead of encouraging Nonconformists to resistance, ought to bid them go and pay at *the turnpike of the state*. Then the ecclesiastical snobs of Lausanne, why do they allow themselves to be "humbugged" by the Church of England? But MM. Druey and Delarageaz are men of sense we know, and they will most likely send something like the following answer to the remonstrances of their English brethren: "Before you reproach us with the riots of Echallens and Aigle, you must oblige us by blotting out of your annals the battle of Bothwell-bridge and the exploits of the Highland host."

United Secession Church.—In looking over the proceedings of the supreme court of this church, which has just terminated its sittings, a careful and intelligent observer could not fail to notice the very great and highly commendable improvement which has taken place in the manner and spirit of this body. It is now more than a hundred years since the venerable and revered fathers of the secession left the Scottish Establishment, protesting against the corruption of doctrine, and the laxity of discipline, which had been suffered to remain within her pale unchallenged and unpunished; since which they have remained a separate and distinct church—a living protest against religious corruption and unchristian discipline. From a small and feeble band of only four congregations they have grown up to be, what they have long been, the most numerous and influential body of Dissenters in Scotland. Since the late "disruption" of the Scottish Establishment they have merged into the second rank of Dissenters in numbers and influence, the Free Church having taken the first rank. In the late meeting of the United Secession Synod it was a very gratifying thing to observe the spirit and zeal of the members. During some years past they have been kept in a most unprofitable state of excitement by discussions on doctrinal points—particularly on the nature and extent of the atonement—by which peace and goodwill were banished from her courts, and bitter and acrimonious personalities had taken their place, by which her energies were paralysed, and her usefulness much impaired. In their late meeting there were no differences nor discussions on these matters, but, with the single exception of the curious and unfortunate case of Mr. Marshall, of Leith, which was a case, not of doctrine, but of discipline, all was peace and harmony, and all seemed anxious to make up for the time which had been lost in their unseemly disputes, and to work out in right good earnest the great and important work which their Master had given them to do. Among many other things calculated to promote the benefit of their own church, and the general church of Christ, there were two which we were more particularly struck with, as marking the efficiency and zeal of this body—the home and foreign missions, and the board for liquidating the debts of their churches. With regard to the former, they were in a most happy and flourishing condition. In England, Scotland, and the Orkney Islands they have 54 mission stations; in Canada, 26; in Jamaica, 8 missionaries and 6 catechists; in Trinidad and Africa they have lately planted stations, which are very promising; and they have it in contemplation to extend their aid to Australia. The board for liquidating the debt reported that, during the last five years, their efforts in extinguishing the debts on their churches had been highly successful, having done so at the rate of £16,000 a-year; and, if they were enabled to continue their exertions, in less than five years more their churches would be completely free from debt. These facts show what mighty effects can be produced by systematic and properly-directed efforts.—*From our Correspondent.*

Aristocratic Christianity.—When I read in the newspapers that the Right Reverend the Lord Charles James administered the rite of confirmation to a party of the juvenile nobility at the Chapel Royal—as if the Chapel Royal were a sort of ecclesiastical Almack's, and young people were to get ready for the next world in little exclusive genteel knots of the aristocracy, who were not to be disturbed in their journey thither by the company of the vulgar; when I read such a paragraph as that (and one or two such generally appear during the present fashionable season), it seem to me to be the most odious, mean, and disgusting part of that odious, mean, and disgusting publication, the *Court Circular*; and that snobbishness is therein carried to quite an awful pitch. What, gentlemen, can't we even in the church acknowledge a republic? There, at least, the Heralds' College itself might allow that we all of us have the same pedigree, and are direct descendants of Eve and Adam, whose inheritance is divided amongst us. I hereby call upon all dukes, earls, baronets, and other potentates, not to lend themselves to this shameful scandal and error, and beseech all bishops who read this publication to take the matter into consideration, and to protest against the continuance of the practice. —*Punch.*

Rev. William Marshall, of Leith.—This gentleman, whose case was before the United Secession Synod last week, has been invited by his congregation to continue his ministrations among them, under the name of the "Calvinistic Secession Church."—*Witness.*

Scotch Presbyterian Assemblies.—The general assemblies of the Free and Established Churches were opened at Edinburgh, on Thursday last. The meeting of the former body was held at Canonmills-hall, which was crowded. Dr. Brown, of Aberdeen, was chosen Moderator. The proceedings, up to Friday night, were of no particular interest. From a statement read by Dr. Mackellar, it appears that the contributions for missions were, on the whole, satisfactory, and the funds in a prosperous condition. The following are the leading items:—

	£	s.	d.
Home Missions	6,081	12	0
Education	15,894	5	3½
Building	12,137	11	10½
Foreign Missions	12,590	7	7
Colonies	8,937	18	0
Jews	6,427	11	11
Supplementary Contributions	14,210	4	9½
Total	76,279	11	5½

Dr. Mackellar said, that with regard to the education scheme, there was still a lamentable inadequacy to the support of the teachers. This case was so strong that it was proposed to have a supplementing fund. It was painful to say, that the success of this fund had not been realised, and that there is not a few of these able men who are worse off than any other class of officials connected with the Free Church. At the sitting on Friday evening the Moderator intimated to the Assembly, that he had received a letter from the Presbyterian Church of America. Dr. Candlish moved that their letter be referred to the standing committee, who had always conducted their correspondence. The letter was an acknowledgment to the letter which was sent by the Assembly after the return of the deputation from America, enclosing the deliverance of the house on the subject of American slavery. He therefore presumed, that the letter would be referred to the standing committee for them to consider it, and draw up an answer if they saw cause, and report at a future diet.—Agreed to. The question of sending back the money received from some of the slaveholders of America is expected to come on in the course of the sittings, and excites much interest.

The Free Church and American Slavery.—On Wednesday last, a meeting (the commencement of a series) was held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, for the purpose of proving that the Free Church is identified with the slaveholders of America, and that its leaders are justly considered enemies to the slave until they "send back the money." The chair was taken by Councillor Stott. A letter of apology was read from Mr. Thompson, stating that he and Mr. Douglass were detained in London, but that they would be here in a day or two, to begin what he termed the "campaign." The first speaker was Mr. Buffum. Mr. Wright afterwards addressed the meeting at considerable length to prove that every American slaveholder was a man-stealer, and that the Free Church was at the present moment in Christian alliance with men-stealers. A vote was then taken for or against a motion by Mr. Wright condemnatory of the Free Church, when the motion was carried almost unanimously, only three or four hands being held up against it. The meeting was then adjourned till Friday, when Councillor Stott again occupied the chair. Messrs. Buffum and Wright again addressed a large audience on the evils of slavery, and the latter gentleman challenged any member of the Free Church (lay or clerical) to refute their statements. No disputant, however, appeared. There was, indeed, a slight interruption; but when the gentleman was invited to the platform, he slunk out of the meeting.

Relief Synod.—The Synod, last week, before adjourning to meet in Glasgow, in October, came to the following deliverance on the subject of slavery:—

"That slaveholding, as now existing in the United States of America, is a sin against man and God—that it is peculiarly heinous when practised by professing Christians—the Synod, therefore, resolves that, having previously remonstrated with them, it is now the imperative duty of the Synod to refuse Christian fellowship with American slaveholders, and slaveholding churches, until they confess and forsake their iniquity."

Seizure for Church-rates.—On the 9th instant a distraint for church-rates was made upon the goods of Mr. Steer, in the parish of All Saints, Derby. The amount of the rate was 11s. 10d. One dozen umbrellas and parasols, value £7 15s., was seized by the constable. State-churchism is doubtless a very righteous system! We have frequently heard the term "robbery" used, in Parliament and out of doors, as a true definition of the word "monopoly." Here, indeed, we have "robbery" with a vengeance; but then, like the "robbery" of the corn-laws, it is sanctioned by law. A day of reckoning has at length arrived with the monopolists of human food; and rest assured that those who love to tyrannise over conscience will have *their* reckoning ere long.—*Derby Reporter.*

American Delegates to the Evangelical Alliance.—From present indications, the American churches will be well and ably represented at the great London Conference in August. The Synod of New York and New Jersey, at its annual meeting in October, appointed delegates, both clerical and lay, among whom are Rev. Drs. Cox, Paton, Skinner, Mason, White, and Brinsmade, who, we are informed, will probably attend. Dr. Brinsmade sailed from this port on the 10th inst. Dr. Mason expects to embark about the 1st of May, Dr. Paton about the 1st of June, and others still later. The two General Assemblies will doubtless take order on the subject, and appoint additional delegates. Other denominations and bodies will doubtless make appointment of suitable delegates.—*New York Evangelist.*

Fatal Accident on the South Eastern Railway.—A serious accident, of a somewhat remarkable character, resulting fatally, took place on this line on Monday afternooon, to the express train, by which the engine and train went off the line, and the engine-driver was killed. The train left the town terminus at a quarter past three o'clock, with but few passengers. It stopped at Ashford at its proper time, near four o'clock, and on its departure the engine appeared in proper working order. On its arriving about midway of Pluckley and Headcorn, distant from town about sixty miles, and just as it had verged into a cutting, the passengers were startled by a sudden jerk and an immediate cloud of dust and smoke enveloping the train. In a few seconds it was brought to a dead stop. The scene around too clearly told that an accident had happened. The passengers discovered that the engine and train had got off the line, and that the former was lying on its side across the rails, it having struck the bank of the cutting, and turned over. The vast quantity of steam that was issuing from the engine, and the ground being strewn with lighted coke, for a time prevented an examination as to the fate of the engine-driver and fireman. In a few moments, however, the unfortunate engineer was discovered under the engine. The poor fellow was found alive; but ere he could be extricated life was extinct. The stoker was thrown by the concussion on his feet on the siding, miraculously escaping the least injury. The guard was thrown from his seat and also providentially escaped. None of the passengers were hurt. As soon as possible, assistance was rendered at Ashford and Tunbridge, and in the course of a few hours the line was cleared, the passengers being taken on by the next train. The cause of the accident cannot as yet be accounted for.

Mr. Vincent's Lectures.—Huntingdon.—On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last, Mr. Vincent addressed the inhabitants of this town in the Institution. This is the birth-place of Oliver Cromwell, and, strange to say, is a dull Tory town. Every one predicted that the meetings would fail, especially as the tickets of admission were sold at rather a high price; instead of which, they more than succeeded. At the second and third meetings, the large room was crowded by all sects and parties. Mr. Vincent's sentiments were vociferously applauded, and his eulogies of Cromwell and the Commonwealth were welcomed with hearty cheers. A deputation from Chatteris invited Mr. V. to that town, the place rendered notorious by the name of Gathercole, which invitation he will accept at the earliest possible time.——Stoney Stratford, Buckingham.—On Thursday and Friday, Mr. Henry Vincent addressed two large and enthusiastic meetings, in this little agricultural town—the first, on free-trade, and the second, on civil and religious liberty; and on Monday, he addresses the people in the "Duke's" own town of Buckingham. It is delightful to find how rapidly democratic principles are spreading. The small agricultural towns appear anxious to fraternise with the more populous districts in the coming struggle for freedom.

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* Colonel Cleland describes thus the exploits of the "Highland Host:"—

* * * * *

"When this was done, their ranks now broken,
Some ran for dring their drought to slocken;
Some were chasing hens and cocks,
Some were loosing horse from yocks;
Some with snapworks, some with bowes,
Were charging reers of toops and ewes;
Their stomachs so on edge were set,
That all was fish came in the nett," &c., &c.

A Mock Poem upon the Expedition of the "Highland Host." By Col. Cleland, 1697.

THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.

HOURS OF LABOUR IN LACE FACTORIES.

On Wednesday, Mr. THOMAS DUNCOMBE presented a petition from Nottingham, signed by 4,984 operatives in the lace-manufacture, in favour of the Lace Factory Bill; and Lord JOHN MANNERS presented a petition to the same effect from 479 master lace-manufacturers in Nottingham and Derby.

Mr. DUNCOMBE then moved the second reading of the bill for limiting the hours of labour in lace factories, the proposed object of which was to limit the duration of the hours of labour for children and adults in the lace manufacture, and to place it under the factory inspectorship. He urged that he had the unanimous assent of the operatives and of four-fifths of the employers to his measure, the necessity for which was evident from the numerous instances of decrepitude, disease, and premature death resulting from the excessive length of the hours of labour. What he proposed was, the restriction of the hours of labour to sixteen per day; that is, from six o'clock in the morning to ten o'clock at night. To effect this, he would prohibit the opening before six, and keeping open after ten. The bill would also prohibit the employment of children under eight years of age; at present they were employed, and in the night; but surely there could be nothing injurious to trade, or hard upon these manufacturers, in that prohibition. It might be asked, why not confine the bill to infantile labour? That would be a point to be decided by the House in a future stage; and if the opinion of the House should be in favour of so confining the bill, he should be ready to consent to that.

Sir J. GRAHAM said that the information which he had received led him to conclude that the majority of the master manufacturers were opposed to the measure. As for the working classes, it was not surprising nor unnatural that they should wish to have their hours of labour restricted by legistative interference, their belief being that it would lead to an improvement in their physical condition. But any benefit that might arise from shorter hours would be far more than counterbalanced by diminished wages, and the misery which would result. The lace manufacture was carried on under peculiar circumstances. The greater portion of the lace was manufactured by hand instead of by power machinery, which at once created a great distinction between the two manufactures of lace and cotton; and the greater portion of the operatives carried on their their business either in their own dwelling-houses, or in buildings adjoining. If, therefore, the lace manufacture were placed under the Factories act, the inspectors must have access by night and by day, and have a clear right of entry into any room where the lace-weaver might lodge. Again, there was a material difference in the expense of the machinery employed in the cotton and lace manufactures. A power loom in the cotton trade did not cost above from £50 to £100, while the average cost of a lace loom varied from £300 to £1,000. The demand for lace depended upon the fashion and fancy for a particular pattern, which seldom extended over more than six months; and a change in the loom was necessary for the production of a new design, which involved a continual addition to the original outlay. A single girl, between thirteen and eighteen years of age, could conduct four power looms in the cotton trade, whereas in the lace trade there must be one male adult to each loom. From one-half to two-thirds of all the lace manufactured was exported, and it was therefore a branch of industry peculiarly dependent on foreign demand and successful competition with foreigners. They could not stop here if they adopted the principle of interference. In justice to the operative in other branches, they must limit labour in all trades where it was alleged to be excessive; they must adopt a *minimum* of wages; and capital would then take to itself wings, and fly to countries where there were no such mischievous legislative restrictions. He moved as an amendment, that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

Colonel ROLLESTON supported the bill, and urged the House to permit it to go into committee, when its details could be considered more effectually.

Mr. STRUTT reminded the House that when the factories act was passed the lace manufacture was expressly excluded from its operation, because it was satisfactorily shown that any restriction would be a *bonus* on lace manufactured by steam power, to the great disadvantage of the handloom manufacturers. The present bill was intended to apply to all machines, whether in factories or in dwelling-houses; and the industrious man carrying on his work in his own cottage would be at the mercy of any malicious informer. Any restriction would prove mischievous and inoperative.

Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE also at considerable length opposed the bill, which was supported by Lord JOHN MANNERS.

Mr. GISBORNE spoke of the impossibility of devising machinery for carrying out the bill; all that Mr. Duncombe could offer was the choice of domiciliary visits or common informers. As to 469 master manufacturers who had petitioned in favour of the measure, they are persons who have become possessed of old and inferior machines.

Mr. WAKLEY said, that the bill was so badly framed as to lead to the supposition that the framer had desired rather to defeat than accomplish the object: still he would vote for the second reading, in the hope of improving the details in committee. He did not see why the children employed in lace-factories should form an exception to the general course of legislation. He did not approve of interference with adult labour.

Sir ROBERT PEEL called upon Mr. Wakley, then, to oppose the bill; for its principle was to restrict adult labour. Sir Robert reviewed the provisions of the measure; remarking that no choice was afforded between domiciliary visits and the common informer. If you would not subject a man to the vindictiveness of his next neighbour or rival in trade you must have domiciliary visits—that is to say, whenever a light is seen in a house after ten o'clock at night there is to be the right of entering into the house—domiciliary visits on suspicion that a man is toiling for the relief of his own family. Neither was there any provision for the making up of lost time by accidents or sickness. The bill would actually legalise the employment of children above eight years of age for sixteen hours. "If we are to interfere with the regulation of infant labour, let us do it in a different way. It will be better to have a new bill than to attempt to amend this. Let us at all events have a new bill—not one framed as this is."

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said that, if infant labour alone had been involved, the bill might have been allowed to go into committee. But there were two objects in the bill which seemed to him to violate every principle of prudent legislation; one was interference with adult labour, and the other was sanctioning interference with private houses, an act of the greatest tyranny.

Mr. BROTHERTON could not support the measure in its present shape. Mr. MARK PHILIPS and Mr. WILLIAM COWPER advised Mr. Duncombe to withdraw his measure, and introduce another for the protection of children.

Mr. DUNCOMBE would only consent to withdraw those clauses which related to adult labour.

The House divided:—For the amendment, 151; against it, 66: majority against the second reading, 85.

CASE OF MR. O'BRIEN.

On Thursday the SPEAKER read a letter from Mr. Smith O'Brien, in which the honourable member informed him that the committee of selection had not proceeded in accordance with the standing orders of the House. The letter of Mr. Smith O'Brien inclosed a copy of one from Mr. Ley, clerk of the House, intimating that there was no entry of the appointment of the committee. In conclusion, Mr. Smith O'Brien demanded his liberation as a matter of right, still protesting against the principle under which he had been imprisoned.

Mr. O'CONNELL then intimated that he would call attention to this letter on Friday.

On Friday, accordingly, Mr. O'CONNELL moved that the order of the 27th of April be discharged; it having been made under the misapprehension that the Committee of Selection had been properly appointed. Mr. Smith O'Brien had been committed to prison for refusing to obey an order of that committee; but as the committee itself had been informally appointed, it had no legal existence, and consequently no charge could lie against any person for disobeying its orders. In every session except the last the committee has been entered in the votes of the House, in accordance with Standing Order No. 4.

Mr. ESTCOURT upheld the opposite view. The standing orders of the House of Commons were not an annual piece of legislation, but continued in force till they were altered or repealed. When a committee was appointed under a standing order, that committee continued in existence until it was dissolved by the standing order. The entry in the votes of last session of the appointment of the committee of selection was a mistake, committed during his illness; and he had himself prevented its repetition this session, under advice of the highest authority.

Mr. WARBURTON said there could be no committee unless it was appointed by somebody. The committee of selection had not appointed itself; the Speaker had not appointed it; and nobody could tell from whom the appointment came. It would be better to confess at once that an informality had taken place, and so to liberate Mr. O'Brien.

Sir GEORGE GREY maintained the regularity of the commitment. If the objection were well founded, it would apply equally to the committee on standing orders. Mr. O'Brien had not been committed for disobeying an order of the committee of selection, but an order of the House itself.

Mr. WAKLEY thought the question should not be decided without an opinion being given by the law officers. He thought that Mr. Warburton's view was a sound one. At all events, was the House prepared to interpret its own order against one of its own members in the harshest sense? He thought it would be far better to say to Mr. O'Brien, "We will let you out, and let us shake hands."

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL would have given an opinion had the subject not been exhausted by the previous speakers. The committee had been appointed with perfect regularity.

Lord POLLINGTON and Mr. M. J. O'CONNELL thought it was a case of great doubt, and that Mr. O'Brien ought to have the benefit of that doubt.

Sir ROBERT PEEL illustrated the validity of the appointment by analogous practice. He did not approve of Mr. Wakley's suggestion as to the way of getting out of the difficulty, if difficulty existed. "If you think the gentleman's punishment sufficient, release him, avowing that you think the authority of the House has been vindicated: but to shrink from the performance of your duty—to be afraid of doing this, and, on pretence of there being something doubtful in the case, to sneak out of it and shake hands with Mr. Smith O'Brien—why, Mr. Smith O'Brien is likely to say, 'I will not accept my liberty on such a ground; you don't think there has been any mistake, but you find a mistake for the purpose of releasing me;' I think that would be the worst course we could pursue."

After further discussion, the House divided:—For the motion, 36; against it, 180: majority, 144.

On Monday evening, Mr. SHAW moved that "W. S. O'Brien, Esq., in custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms attending the House, be discharged out of custody, paying his fees." As the authority of the House had been sufficiently vindicated by the imprisonment of Mr. S. O'Brien for twenty-five days, and, as the business of the committee on which that gentleman had been ordered to attend was now completed, he hoped that this motion, which was drawn up in the usual form, would meet the unanimous concurrence of the House.

Mr. HENLEY, the chairman of the committee which Mr. S. O'Brien had been ordered to attend, seconded the motion, and created great merriment by assuring the House that no public inconvenience had resulted from the absence of Mr. O'Brien.

Mr. P. BUTLER trespassed on the House at the request of Mr. S. O'Brien, who still was of opinion that he had been illegally imprisoned, and who therefore declared that he would only pay his fees under a protest.

Sir R. PEEL observed, that there had been but one feeling of regret in the House that it had been compelled to submit one of its members to restraint. He was bound to say that in his opinion it was no longer necessary to continue that restraint. If Mr. S. O'Brien paid his fees under a protest, it would prevent the payment of his fees from being considered as a personal acquiescence on his part.

The motion was then carried without a dissentient voice, and in a few minutes afterwards Mr. S. O'Brien walked into the House, and took his seat in mortifying silence.

SHORT HOURS IN FACTORIES.

On Friday evening the adjourned debate on the second reading of the Factories Bill was resumed by Mr. BANKES, who strongly urged upon the House the necessity of some legislative interference to protect the interest of the young persons employed in factories, so that some time might be afforded them for moral and intellectual improvement.

Mr. WARD asserted that the effect of the bill in the first place would be to diminish profits, and in the second to reduce the wages of the workers. The bill was a step in a wrong direction; it was founded on a principle with which he, as a Free-trader, could have no community of sentiment. He pointed out the inconsistent opinions of the probable effects of the measure entertained by its supporters:—

The hon. member for Oldham said it was to be a Ten Hours' Bill, and no compromise; that there would be no diminution in production, profits, or wages; and yet he admitted that there would be a rise in prices. But how could there be a rise in trade if there was no change in the elements which went to make up price [bear, hear]? The speeches of the supporters of the bill were, in fact, one tissue of the most barefaced contradictions. The hon. member for Bolton (Dr. Bowring) was for Eleven Hours' Bill, and not a Ten Hours' Bill; he admitted the certainty of loss, and asserted, that if the hours of labour were reduced, the operatives would consent to reduce the price of labour also. Another hon. member assumed there would be a diminution of daily, but not in the aggregate produce, and that the operatives were willing "to chance it." The hon. member for Finsbury denied most distinctly that the operatives were willing to chance it; and the right hon. gentleman, the member for Devonport (Sir G. Grey) was, for a man of his acuteness of intellect, in a wretched plight, in the most melancholy perplexity, weighing the moral against the commercial considerations, with such a nicety that a feather might turn the scale, making "I dare not wait upon I would," and consenting to the principle, but objecting to the details of the bill. Why, in such a measure the principle was inseparable from the details, and both were objectionable [hear, hear]. Mr. Horner, a very competent authority, said that the reduction to eleven hours would make a difference in the production of thirteen per cent.; if to ten hours, twenty-five per cent.; and he gave it as his deliberate opinion, that the whole of the loss would be thrown upon the profits. The arguments which he (Mr. Ward) had delivered, made up the *primâ facie* case of the supporters of the bill. He did not believe that the operatives used, or coincided in, those arguments. The last petition presented to the House on the subject was presented by the hon. member for Oldham (Mr. Fielden), and from his own constituents, and it could not be considered as in favour of the bill of the hon. member. The petitions of the manufacturers concerned were unanimous in disapproval. A petition from Leeds said, that in no instance had the operatives claimed a reduction in the hours of labour, if accompanied by a diminution of wages; and another petition, from Glasgow, represented it as impossible to meet foreign competition if forced by law to work only ten hours, while their rivals worked twelve or fourteen hours a-day. A petition from Huddersfield told them, that the necessary consequence of a diminution in the hours of manufacturing labour would be an increase in prices; and, to meet these prices, an increase in the hours of all other kinds of labour.

In corroboration of his statement with regard to the opposition of the working classes, to any reduction of wages, he mentioned the following fact:—

A manufacturer in the scythe trade, at Sheffield, had received an export order, provided he could execute it at the same rate that was paid to American workmen, namely, 24s. a week, and he (Mr. Ward) was authorised to say that the working men at Sheffield refused to work at less than 30s.; the order, consequently, went to America; and so it must always be if the working men believed that they could fix their wages. When they saw what was the effect of this system on one branch of trade, they could easily calculate what it would be if carried out in other branches.

Lord GEORGE BENTINCK spoke in support of the bill.

Lord MORPETH gave a hint to the preceding speaker:—

The noble lord who had just sat down, actuated, no doubt, by none but conscientious and honourable motives, had had reason to change his opinion and vote. That change might perhaps teach him a little more forbearance and allowance for the changes which had passed upon the minds of others [hear, hear]. The noble lord was contented with the experience of two years [cheers], and yet he was loath to allow any operation to the experience of even three years to others [renewed cheers].

He then spoke of the difficulties which beset the question; in a complicated state of society like the present, all the currents of business ran so much into each other, that it was difficult to calculate the effect of a disturbing force. He did not believe that factory labour was so severe and injurious as it was represented to be. With regard to the present bill, he said:—

Not feeling sure whether, in the present temper of the House, it would be possible to confine the reduction to eleven hours, and feeling that it would be most mischievous to consent to further a bill which might possibly go so far as a reduction to ten hours, he (Lord Morpeth) did not feel justified in going into committee [hear, hear]. The circumstances also of the session and of the time most powerfully advised the House to suspend any decision for the present. This bill, a bill for regulating the hours of labour, was so nearly connected, marched so closely with the bill for the repeal of the corn-laws, in other words, with the bill to regulate the payment of labour, that he could not bring himself to deal with the one till he had ascertained the fate of the other [cheers from the Protection benches]. Why that cheer? It would clearly be injurious in the highest

degree to the best interests of the working classes to limit their hours of labour without augmenting the remuneration for their labour; a bill had been introduced into Parliament which he trusted and believed would have that effect; would the honourable gentlemen who cheered guarantee that that bill was to pass into a law? [cries of "No, no," and "Hear, hear."] Then they could not blame his prudence and consideration in not consenting to reduce the hours of labour. He had always felt this strongly, and had elsewhere stated, that the repeal of the corn-laws would afford an opportunity for reconsidering the question of the hours of labour; but then that repeal ought to be assured, and some experience of its effects should be tried [hear]. He had also never concealed his opinion, that the best mode of settling this question of the hours of labour would be by mutual agreement and understanding between the masters and the men [hear, hear]. He had thought, especially in the commencement of the present spring, that there was more hope and prospect of such an agreement than at any previous period, nor did he see any reason to abandon that hope, provided the Legislature abstained from present interference [hear].

Mr. Macaulay made a brilliant speech in support of the bill. He admitted that it was not desirable that the state should interfere with persons of sound age and mind, in relation to contracts purely commercial; but the House would fall into great error if it applied that principle to any other but contracts purely commercial; for, in other cases, much higher considerations often came in:—

I believe that I am as firmly attached as any gentleman in this House to the principle of free-trade properly stated, and I should state that principle in these terms:—that it is not desirable that the state should interfere with the contracts of persons of ripe age and sound mind, touching matters purely commercial. I am not aware of any exception to that principle; but you would fall into error if you apply it to transactions which are not purely commercial [hear, hear]. Is there a single gentleman so zealous for the principles of free-trade as not to admit, that he might consent to the restriction of commercial transactions when higher and other considerations are concerned? Take questions of police. Why do you limit the number of, and interfere by restriction with, hackney-coaches and cabs? On pure commercial principles you cannot do so. Suppose it a rainy day, and that there are very few cabs on the stands. Why should not any person, having a cab, be permitted to come out and ask his price for the hire? I defy any person to defend the restriction on the principles of free-trade; but you say that you cannot in such a way regulate the public carriages in a capital like this; considerations of police come in; and, therefore, you interfere, and make restrictions on the trade ["Hear, hear," and cheers]. So it is with considerations of revenue. On the principles of free-trade, how could you prohibit any man from growing tobacco on his own ground? But you fear that on tobacco so grown you would get no duty, and, therefore, you sacrifice the principle of free-trade for the sake of the revenue [hear, hear]. So it is in respect to matters concerning national defence, and a great many other things; but I wish to confine myself to matters directly bearing on the question before us. Therefore I say, in the first instance, that where the health of the community is concerned, the principle of non-interference does not apply without very great restrictions: and in this statement I hope I carry with me the general sense of the House, as I am sure I carry with me the full assent of the Government. It concerns the public weal that the great mass of the people should not live in a way the effect of which is to abridge life, making it wretched and feeble while it lasts, and to send to untimely graves the population, who leave behind them a more miserable progeny than themselves [hear, hear]. If it be the fact that a great mass of our population is familiar with misery—if it be the fact that places calculated to shorten life, to taint the health, and to turn the stomach of those accustomed to more cleanly habits, are not noxious to those who dwell in them—this proves how greatly the Government of this country has neglected its duty; and prove that they have tolerated the existence of houses like hogstyes, until there is danger of the population becoming like hogs [hear, hear]. Who would affirm, then, with respect to a question where morality and humanity are concerned, that we must adhere to this principle of non-interference? [cheers].

Now the public health was concerned in the amount of the hours of labour:—

Does any one who has examined the evidence, or opened his eyes in the world, or examined his own feelings, doubt that twelve hours a day of factory labour are more than are desirable for youths of thirteen [hear, hear]? If so much labour be not desirable, then I say every argument on which interference can be justified calls on me to keep those youths from injuring their health by means of immoderate toil [hear, hear]. Is this, or is it not, a question in which morality is concerned? Can any one doubt—certainly my friends around me do not doubt—that education is a matter of the highest importance, as regards the virtue and happiness of the common people? For education we know that leisure is necessary. Do we believe that, after twelve hours have been taken from the day for factory labour, and after so much time as is necessary for refreshment and exercise has also been taken—do we believe that enough time will remain for that amount of education which it is desirable the people should have? I believe that we must answer that question in the negative [hear, hear]. This I say, that all the principles in which you interfere to prohibit contracts of a nature which you believe to be prejudicial to public morality, justify me in endeavouring to prevent contracts like those which are now the subject of consideration ["Hear," and cheers]. But there is another question. We are legislating here principally for the young. Now, I ask whether it is not a rule universally adopted by all civilised society, in which anything like a body of law exists, that those who are of a tender age should be placed under the guardianship of the state? No one would say that a rich person under age should be permitted to sign away his property. We should cry out against such a proposition. And if any gentleman came forward and said, "What have you to do with the matter? Why do you pretend to know what is better for the man's benefit? Why do you interfere with a free contract between two persons?" the answer would be, that a boy of immature age cannot secure himself from injury, and the state is his guardian [hear, hear]. But the property of the poor and young lies in his health, and strength, and skill with the health both of his body and of his mind. To suffer him prematurely to impair that health, by even his own consent, is greatly to depart from the first duty of a good guardian [hear, hear]. These are the principles on which I hold that there is no objection to interference in this case. Where public health and public morality are concerned, I hold that the state may interfere, if, on the whole, such interference may appear advisable, even with the contracts of adults. Therefore interference, in such a case, would be justifiable, *à fortiori*, in reference to artisans under the adult age.

Having thus proved, as he contended, that there was no objection to the interference of the Legislature, he proceeded to show the fallacy of the predictions which stated that the most mischievous consequences must ensue to the operatives in the manufacturing districts from the diminution of wages which would be occasioned by this diminution in their hours of labour. He was certain that there must be a great flaw in that argument; and his reason for saying so was, that similar reductions had already been made in the hours of labour—that similar prophecies of ruin had been previously made—and that they had one and all been falsified by events. He reminded the House how much of the prosperity of England was owing to the inventions of its working men, the Comptons, the Johnsons, the Hardwicks, and the Arkwrights of former days, and said he never would believe that a change which would improve the physical condition and the moral intelligence of our labouring population would make that population poorer:—

What is it which makes one community prosperous and flourishing more than another? You will not say that it is the soil—you will not say that it is its climate—you will not say that it is its mineral wealth or its natural advantages, its ports or its great rivers. These are things that are very valuable indeed when human intelligence and energy uses them well; but human intelligence and energy can do much without them, whereas without human intelligence and energy they are as nothing. You see countries that in the highest degree possess all these advantages with a miserable population—with men having hardly a rag to cover them; while, on the other hand, in the most sterile soils, and under the most inclement skies, the greatest human industry and prosperity is to be fonnd. Is it anything in the earth or in the air that makes our Scotland a richer country than Egypt? or Batavia, with its marshes, more prosperous than Sicily? No, but it is Scotchmen made Scotland what she is—it is Dutchmen that raised their marshes to such eminence [hear, hear]. Look to America. Two centuries ago, it was a wilderness of buffaloes and wolves. What has caused the change? Is it her rich mould? Is it her mighty rivers? Is it her broad waters? No, her plains were then as fertile as they are now, her rivers were as numerous. Nor was it any great amount of money that the emigrants carried out with them. It was simply this. You put the Englishman instead of the red man into the country. English industry and intelligence burnt down the forests and elevated towns and factories in their stead [hear, hear]. The truth is, that the great instrument which produces wealth is man, and all the advantages of climate and soil and productions that distinguish Italy from Spitzbergen are as nothing without the moral and intellectual superiority of the inhabitants [hear]. These, I believe, are the reasons why the wealth of this country has not been diminished by the observance during century after century of a day of rest in each week. It was because the great machine on which all depends was put in a state of invigorated spirits, and in possession of greater physical powers by the period of rest, that such results as we have seen have come to pass. And if I believe all this about days, may I not believe it about hours? Am I not to believe that the change which is to be found in the improved moral and intellectual character of the people cannot possibly make them poorer. For my part I look with no alarm on the competition of which we hear so much from other nations. When I am told that we are in danger of being beaten out of the field by some people in Germany who work seventeen hours a day, but of whom the public authorities complained that there is not one among them of sufficient stature to make a soldier, I can feel no alarm. If ever the English race is to be deprived of its commercial superiority it will be by no such race as that. It must be by a finer population than that of England, if ever such a population may rise [hear, hear]. These, sir, are the reasons which satisfy me as to the soundness of the principle of this bill. I am convinced that this being a question relating for the most part to persons of tender years [hear, hear], being a question in which the public health is concerned, in which the public morality is concerned, that it is, therefore, a question with which the legislature ought properly to deal.

He admitted, however, that the question of interference was a question of degree, and that we ought to feel our way upon it with great caution. He should not vote at present for any proposition which reduced the hours of labour to less than eleven hours a-day; for he thought that we were now placed in the situation of a physician with a suffering patient. The physician knew that there was a disease, and knew that there was a remedy; but he had not satisfied himself that the constitution of the patient would bear that remedy, and was therefore compelled to apply it in small doses.

Sir J. Hanmer and Mr. Wakley spoke in support of the bill. The latter speaker dwelt emphatically on the dreadful mortality produced by the present system:—

Mr. Chadwick, in his last report on Manchester, quoted the report of the Registrar-general, who said that, in the whole of England, out of 1,000 persons, 145 reached the age of 70. In Manchester, out of 1,000 persons, only 63 attained the age of 70. Out of 4,629 persons of the labouring classes who died in the year 1840, no less than 2,649 died under the age of five years [cries of "Hear, hear"]. Above five and under ten the deaths were 1 in 22; above ten, 1 in 43. The average age of death at Manchester, among the labouring classes, was 17 years, while in Rutlandshire it was 38 years [hear, hear]. The hon. member for Edinburgh had dwelt upon the circumstance that there were prior considerations to that of commercial prosperity; if there were not, they might cease their debates. He wished to call the attention of the House to the dreadful effects produced on the manufacturing population by withdrawing from the homes of the operatives the natural protectors of their children—viz., their wives. It struck at the root of all domestic happiness. They made a dirty, desolate place of the poor man's home, when they took from it its natural protector [hear, hear]. Instead of going home and finding a smiling wife and a well-laid board to receive him, the labouring man took home with him his weary, exhausted partner, and they were both glad to retire at once to rest. In the morning they rose again at five to be at the factory by six o'clock, and what became of the children during the absence of their parents? They were left in charge of some old and miserable harridan, who in order to quiet them resorted by turns to the birch and to stupefying drugs [hear, hear]. He stated unhesitatingly that, in pursuing this course of policy, they were striking at the root of society in this country. They saw the effects of it already in the children, that, out of 4,600, 2,400 died before they were five years of age. And what, he would ask again, could compensate to the children of many a poor man for the loss of a mother [hear, hear]? Could there be a greater calamity than the death of a mother? He appealed to hon. members of that house. He had not the slightest desire to raise any unpleasant feeling against any party; that was not his object; but he wished to bring the effects of this calamity before their minds, because his mind was impressed with its importance, although theirs might not be.

Mr. Bright had listened with surprise to the speech of Mr. Macaulay; for it was a monstrous caricature upon free-trade, and had kept at a very wide distance indeed from the question really before the House. He then referred to Mr. Wakley's statement as to the great mortality of the manufacturing districts:—

But, if the honourable member had acted fairly, he would not have alluded to what took place in Manchester, but in some other town, not a manufacturing one, where the population was as great as in that town [loud cries of "Hear, hear"]. If he had taken Liverpool, for instance, he would have found the mortality greater than in Manchester [hear, hear]; and if he had given the mortality of Leeds, it would have appeared frightful; but, if he had given that of Bristol, it would appear still greater than that of Leeds [hear, hear]. Well, this showed that the argument of the hon. member was not worth a straw for the case then under consideration; and if the hon. member had looked a little further into statistics, he would have found that longevity in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire had been increasing for 150 years past, and that, in Leeds, the average rate of mortality, instead of being higher, was considerably lower than in 1801, when there were scarcely any factories in the town [hear, hear]. Then, with respect to health, he would not trouble the House at that late hour with the minute statements of figures which he had prepared; but he might state that it was upon record, and perfectly undeniable, that the average rate of sickness in factories was not so large as the average calculated upon by the friendly societies of England.

He then replied at great length to the speeches made last year by Lord Ashley, in bringing forward this measure, disputing his facts, and denying his inferences:—

The hon. member for Oldham said that Lord Ashley's statements were before the House, that no member of the Government had contradicted them, and therefore he would not repeat them. Lord Ashley, two years ago, stated that children between nine and thirteen years of age, and young persons from thirteen to eighteen, walked a distance of from twenty-two to twenty-seven miles a day in following the machine called a mule. Why, the thing was impossible; and the fact of any man having made such a statement in that House was sufficient so condemn him as an authority upon that or upon any other subject. It was proved, on the evidence of not less than four hundred firms, who had no kind of communication with each other whilst the experiments were tried, that the extreme distance which any person could travel in one day, following the mule, was twelve miles—that the least distance was about four—and that the average could not be estimated at more than eight. The same noble lord had made other statements quite as extraordinary, and just as contrary to the facts.

As to the experiments on the eleven-hour system which had been made, he said:—

If the capital were the same, and the labour diminished, it would be impossible that the owner of the capital, or the workman, could receive the same amount of profit and wages as at present [hear, hear]. Now, with respect to that diminution, what had been the result of the experiments made, as he thought the hon. member for Oldham would admit, in the fairest manner? He alluded to the experiments of Mr. Horrocks, at Preston; Mr. Greg, at Manchester; and Mr. Eccles, at Blackburn. Now the whole of these cases were brought forward by men as respectable as the hon. member for Oldham, who stated them on their character and honour, and he believed their statements to be true. But, on the other hand, they had Mr. Gardner's experiments—and, in the first place, he asserted, without any fear of contradiction by Mr. Gardner, that, in his experiments, the machine at his mill was made to move faster in the proportion of 1 to 50, and that a quarter of an hour was gained by it. He had it on the authority of Mr. Gardner himself, and of Mr. Horner, the factory inspector, that as much as that was gained by an increase in the speed of the engine; and that several minutes were gained which before were not cared for in meal time; and by these means there was something like an approach for a time to the quantity produced before. But if he did not know that a great majority of that House knew little of cotton-mills, and that half the members opposite had never been inside of one, he would not dwell upon these facts; for it must be clear to any man who had a knowledge of these matters, that it must depend on the number of the revolutions of the roller as to the exact amount of yarn or spun cotton turned out from any machine. To attempt to persuade the public that one machine working ten hours could produce as much as one working twelve hours, because when the workmen engaged with it were not working so long they were less fatigued, was out of the question; for he assured the House, on the experience of many years, and the hon. member for Oldham could not deny it, that, as far as regarded the greater proportion of mills in the cotton trade, it mattered not whether they worked twelve hours or ten hours, for it would turn out the same quantity [cries of "Oh, oh!"]. He spoke as respected the machinery, that in ten hours they would only turn out ten-twelfths of the quantity they would produce in twelve hours, and not one inch more; and that no power of legislation in that House, or anything else, could alter that state of things.

He proceeded to point out the dangerous consequences of the measure at the present time:—

He asked the House to consider what they were called upon to do. The hon. member for Oldham said that we now consumed 532,000,000lbs. of cotton, and that was his great argument why we should cut off 1-7th of the quantity. Now, what would be the result of passing this act? That we should immediately lessen the consumption of the raw material, and that we should lose in our trade to the amount of 67,000,000lbs. a-year; that was about equal to the whole amount of our cotton trade at the conclusion of the war, and exceeded two-thirds that of the United States of America. Calculating in bales, it amounted to 228,000. Was there any man in that House who was sane [laughter], or was there any man anywhere who was sane, and who, when he considered the enormous interests connected with the working up of those 228,000 bales of cotton in one year, would dare vote for the passing of this bill which at once or twice cut off that amount of production or consumption? There never, he believed, passed a measure so dangerous, so destructive, so certain to be violated by all those persons who were connected with the trade with which they were going to interfere, as this. Thousands of men and women were employed in the cotton factories in Lancashire at the same wages as they had formerly received, though the mill-owners did not make a sixpence of profit ["Oh, oh," from Colonel Sibthorp]. The hon. and gallant member for Lincoln was of course minutely acquainted with the cotton trade [cheers].

NEWSPAPER

He had much to be thankful for [laughter, amid which Colonel Sibthorp rose and made a low obeisance]. Well, but he (Mr. Bright) asserted that there was a great number of establishments working without profit, and he could not see how this law could be passed without seriously interfering with the trade [oh, oh]. Honourable gentlemen might say "oh," and the noble lord, the member for Lynn, had been very eloquent upon the fact that persons in the cotton trade had made great fortunes. Well, he hoped that it was not a crime to make a fortune in the cotton trade; but had the noble lord looked over the *Gazette* for the last few years, he would have found that hundreds and thousand of cotton spinners had gone to ruin—that from 1839 to 1842 upwards of one-half of the cotton spinners of Stockport were entirely ruined. Of course, it must always be that those who had the best mills, the best machinery, and the most capital would make money, but there were many others at the opposite end of the scale who could not live under the experiments which it was now proposed to try on them [hear, hear]. Besides, there was a smaller margin and profit now to go upon. There was a much more furious competition with foreigners. If they had limited hours years ago to twelve, there were means of surmounting the difficulty. Every improvement in machinery helped them to achieve the task. But they were now approaching the point beyond which these inventions and improvements could not be carried. Did it not, then, appear a hazardous thing under such circumstances, to venture on so great a change with respect to so vast a branch of industry? [hear, hear].

Then as to the out-door agitation in favour of the bill:—

He could speak with authority as to the opinions of the working men. He employed 800 of that class, and when at home lived amongst them, and in constant communication with them. He believed, then, that they would prefer working ten hours to twelve [hear, hear, and cheers]. He believed it would be better for them to work ten hours than twelve [renewed cheers]. But he also believed that were the proposition put to the hands in any or in every mill, that they should work ten hours per day, and have only ten hours' wages, there was not a single case in which anything like a majority of the hands would vote for such change [hear, hear, and "oh, oh"]. He might be asked his reason for saying so. It was a good one. It was this—that in several cases where the offer had been distinctly made, it had been as distinctly refused [hear, hear], and that there was not a single instance of the hands in any mill having suggested such a reduction of time coupled with such a reduction of wages [hear, hear]. In his establishment he would make the change to-morrow if his people asked him. But he knew what the consequence would be. Were the new system to be tried at a time when employment was plentiful, his hands would straggle away up the vale of Todmorden, and seek work from the honourable member for Oldham [hear, and laughter]. If all were true which that honourable gentleman stated—if production would not be diminished—why did he not try the short hour system himself [cheers]? If he could stand increased competition with the foreigner, why did he not try the change himself? Some honourable gentlemen had alleged—the noble lord the member for Newark (Lord J. Manners) among them—that the people could do with less wages. Now, he admired many points about the noble lord. He (Mr. Bright) should like to see the people play at cricket and climb maypoles as well as the noble lord; but he never made a greater mistake than when he said that he thought the operative classes would be content to accept a diminished rate of wages, and be comfortable under their operation. The hon. member for Newcastle-under-Lyne had said much the same thing. Now, take lawyers for example, or take anybody else occupied in obtaining an honest livelihood. Would the barrister account the man a friend who came to advise him to take ten briefs and ten fees instead of twelve [cheers]? Well, the same feeling prevailed among the operatives: they liked money—they would have it if they could get it by honest industry; and they would account the House their greatest enemy were it to attempt to tie their hands for two hours a day, taking two hours' wages at the same time [hear]. The supporters of this bill professed to be in harmony with the working classes. He denied it. They were for ten hours' time, not for ten hours' wages. There was a great difference between the two parties. The working men asked for two things: their champions could only give them one. There was no harmony, no agreement between them [hear, hear]. He believed, inded, that the bill would, if carried, be productive of the most fatal disappointment which any body of working men were ever subjected to. They were asked to compromise it. The hon. member for Ashton-under-Lyne was just the man for compromise ["Hear," and a laugh]. He had veered from fourteen hours to eleven and a half. But, if they passed the bill, would it not afford the greatest possible argument to confirm the working classes in the belief that Parliament could diminish the hours of labour without diminishing the rate of wages?

He had great hopes of an alteration of the present system by *voluntary* agreement:—

The House seemed to be agreed upon the point, that any arrangement which might be made should, if possible, be a voluntary one. It was said, that such an arrangement was not possible. Who knew that it was not possible? The men who led the ten hours agitation had never tried it. They had always pointed to Parliament as the place where the boon should come from. Now he maintained that this voluntary arrangement could be come to, and that without the interference of the Legislature—*it would be come to before they were five years older*. There were symptoms of it everywhere—in the shutting up of the Manchester warehouses on the Saturday afternoon—in the early closing movement that was going on all over England,—all was a voluntary arrangement, and nothing could be more delightful; but if they could have relied on Parliamentary interference, no voluntary arrangement between the employer and the employed would ever have been effected [hear, hear]. Let it once be known that that House would never legislate in that direction, and the operatives of England would find another mode of obtaining the boon which he admitted they ought to have, by some means or other [hear]. But there were other symptoms than those. The master manufacturers were a more civilised class than they were some years ago. In the treatment of their apprentices, in the treatment of school boys, as regarded their own children, with their soldiers and their sailors, they would find a much more kindly and gentle treatment than formerly. All that was a matter of voluntary arrangement. Families in these factories worked together; there was an *esprit de corps* amongst them; and no overlooker dare think of putting into operation such tyrannical measures as they used often to hear of in that House [hear, hear]. Two years ago he had advocated the same side as he did now. He believed then that he took the part of the working-classes, and further consideration, and more inquiry, had convinced him that he was right in that belief. Nothing, he was certain, could be worse than legislative interference in these matters. It was a return to the errors committed by our ancestors centuries ago.

Mr. B. Denison observed that, though he was prepared to go into committee on this bill, he was not prepared to support a reduction of the hours of labour to ten.

Sir Robert Peel did not think that Mr. Macaulay had been so successful in his argument as in his rhetoric. His argument was beside the question; which was—what is upon the whole most for the social advantage of the country? He admitted that there were higher considerations than the accumulation of wealth; but he hoped the promoters of the bill would reflect that they were imposing by it a tax equivalent to an income-tax of fifteen per cent. on adult labour. He believed the working classes were of opinion that Parliament could restrict the duration of labour without diminishing wages. He explained the present state of the law. He would not recede from what had been done already; but he was against all further interference with labour, thinking that Parliament had gone far enough. Besides, he thought that the present time, when we were entering on a new commercial system, was not the time for also entering on so dangerous an experiment as that now proposed.

Lord J. Russell maintained that Sir R. Peel had not been very successful in his refutation of the argument which Mr. Macaulay had directed against the popular fallacy, that we ought never under any circumstances to interfere with adult labour. He showed that the acts of Sir R. Peel, of Sir J. Hobhouse, and Lord Althorpe had already interfered with that description of labour, and that this bill did not carry that interference further than those acts, which were now universally approved of. He thought that our present attempt at interference would be attended, he would not say without risk, but without any probability of the occurrence of those dangers which the opponents of the bill affected to apprehend. He had never held out to the working classes the expectation that they would receive twelve hours' wages for eleven hours' work; but he knew that the rate of wages did not depend either upon this or upon any other bill, but upon the demand for labour. His belief was that, in consequence of the alteration recently made in the corn-laws, there would be a greater demand for labour in the manufacturing districts, and in consequence an increase in the rate of wages; and, with that belief on his mind, and with the conviction that this bill would tend to the improvement of the social condition of the people, he should cordially give his vote in favour of this measure.

Mr. Cobden maintained that this question was not one of mere feeling, it was also a question of political science, and therefore he wished hon. members to bring their heads as well as their hearts to the consideration of it. He entered into a searching analysis of the different speeches made in support of the bill, and asked the Protectionists what they would say to him, if he were to bring in a bill to compel the landlords of Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire to pay their labourers twelve shillings a week? Would Lord J. Manners support such a bill on grounds of mere feeling? No such thing. He would oppose it on grounds of political economy; and would say that you could not compel the landlords to pay twelve shillings a week to the labourers whom they employed, but that you could not compel them to employ labourers. Would the noble lord apply the same reasoning to manufacturers, and consider whether a worse fate than working for twelve hours a day might not befall the operative classes in their not having any work at all? The noble member then continued his opposition to the bill in a speech of considerable force and eloquence.

Mr. Muntz gave his cordial support to the bill.

After a brief reply from Mr. Fielden, the House divided, when there appeared:—

For the second reading	193
Against it	203
Majority	10

CORN IMPORTATION BILL.

Monday being the day appointed for the second reading of the Corn Importation Bill in the House of Lords, the passages leading to the gallery were thronged with those who had peers' orders for admission some time before the doors were opened; the seats set apart for strangers were far too few to accommodate the applicants, and many lingered for a long time about the door, hoping that some persons who had been admitted would quit their places. The body of the house was filled very early; shortly after 5 o'clock there were nearly 200 peers present. Lord Stanley did not come in until about twenty minutes after 5. The Duke of Richmond and some other peers immediately went up to him and shook hands with him.

A great number of petitions having been presented, for and against the bill,

The Earl of Ripon (the author of the corn-law of 1815) moved its second reading. Having undertaken to discharge this duty voluntarily, he should not apologise to their lordships for bringing forward a measure which he had always considered as by far the most important, concerning the social condition of the country, that had ever called for the attention of this House. The question, however, was as difficult as it was important. His lordship proceeded to state the motives to which had influenced him on former occasions with reference to it—the principles upon which he had supported the corn law, and what were not the principles he had recognised. When he introduced the corn bill of 1815, he did it with reluctance, and he told Lord Liverpool, who had desired him to introduce that measure, that he had a great objection on principle to any corn-law whatever. He had never supported any corn law on the grounds assigned by many others; he did not acknowledge that any ground for a corn law was to be found in rents, mortgages, and settlements; nor did he consider it part of a great system of protection to national industry—a doctrine which the Legislature had never avowed, but, on the contrary, many of its acts were directly adverse to the proposition. His lordship adduced, amongst other examples, the case of wool, on which no import duty had been imposed till 1819, and then for the purpose of revenue. The only ground upon which he had recognised the expediency of a corn-law was a sincere conviction that, without such a law, this country would be, or might be, more dependent than it ought, in prudence, to be upon foreign countries. Unless a corn-law was considered to be so intimately connected with the commercial and agricultural interests of the country that it ought to be permanently maintained, the question was reduced to one of time. After a detailed history of the various measures restrictive of the importation of foreign grain, showing that, if the system of protection was so essential to, and so interwoven with all the interests of the country, it had been a most unstable system, and that, meanwhile, agricultural improvements had been going on, and were still going on, he said it must, therefore, be admitted, that the repeal of the corn-law was a question of time; and, if so, the principle was gone. Then came the fact of the rapid increase of the population, which had a tendency to press upon the limits of subsistence, if one augmented in a geometrical and the other in only an arithmetical ratio. Another question was, that of Ireland. Those who thought that a temporary suspension of the corn-law would have met that evil, gave up the important principle that the law contained a power of self-adaptation to circumstances; and, if once suspended, such a law could not be reverted to. A great objection urged against a repeal of the corn-laws was, that it would throw land out of cultivation; he had never been able to ascertain what was the land which would thereby relapse into waste; he had found in his experience that no such apprehension was entertained:—

Circumstances having placed at his disposal an estate in that part of the country last autumn, he could state that, in the midst of the alarm that had been felt in some quarters as to the effect of this measure, it had been his fortunate lot to be able to let a very considerable portion of the land in question, not at a reduced rent, but positively at an increased rent [cheers]. What proof could be stronger that these parties did not anticipate that the effect of the present measure would be to throw their land out of cultivation?

With regard to the duration of the measure he said:—

The proposed law continued a modified protection for three years. For himself, *he did not know whether they had cause to be apprehensive of evil consequences if an earlier termination were put to the present system* [loud cheers from the Opposition benches].

The Duke of Richmond moved that the bill be read a second time this day six months, feeling it to be a measure likely to inflict a deadly blow upon British agriculture and the national greatness. Lord Ripon had not told their lordships what, in his opinion, would be the average price of corn if this measure should pass; but surely Ministers had not dared to bring in such a measure without estimates. Lord Ripon had given their lordships a history of the various measures regulating the importation of corn, except that of 1842, which was the measure they were about to repeal; and of this he had said not one syllable. The noble duke then amused their lordships by reading extracts from the speeches of Lord Ripon in 1815 (when Mr. Robinson) and in 1842, dwelling on the discrepancies between them and the speech of the noble earl that night. The following extract from the noble duke's speech may be taken as a specimen of the whole:—

We are told that we are to have free-trade; and the manufacturers—no, not the manufacturers [hear, hear], but a section of the manufacturers [hear, hear], a section of the Manchester cotton-spinners [hear, hear]—have told us that we know nothing about farming [hear, hear]; they call all of us blockheads [a laugh], and they say, "We will take your farms from you—we will find capital" [hear, hear]—they do not say they will find experience, though I wonder they do not [a laugh]—but they are to bring greater skill; and what do they admit? They admit that these changes are not to be made without our being called upon to remove from our farms and their occupation twenties and thirties of thousands of the tenantry of this country [hear, hear]. My lords, what is to become of that tenantry? [hear, hear]. They with their families, the labourers of England, when they are turned out of their employment, must go to the union workhouses for their daily bread, or they must emigrate into the manufacturing districts, where it is to be their destiny to seek employment, and come under those very men who have been the cause of their ruin [hear], and have destroyed the whole of their worldly prospects [hear, hear]. I know well that that section I have alluded to wishes indeed to lower the price of produce in this country; they have a deep hostility to the farmers of England, because they know that the farmers have ever been warmly attached to our constitution and to our institutions [hear, hear]. They wish also to lower the price of produce and to get a large number of agriculturists into their towns for the purpose of permanently lowering the wages of the operative [hear, hear]; they wish permanently to lower the wages of the operative, not only from a desire to acquire greater profits for themselves [hear], but they do it also for the purpose of preventing those strikes which seldom take place when wages are low [hear, hear]. Then I will ask your lordships what is to become of the yeomanry and of the tenantry who may not be ejected from their farms? [hear, hear]. I wish to know, when the value of their produce is so much diminished, and when the poor-rates are so much increased, how they will be enabled to do anything but linger on for a few years [hear, hear].

The Earl of Fitzwilliam supported the bill, and believed it would be passed by a great majority; nevertheless it was not a measure he should have proposed; a great revenue had been wasted by it, for which a substitute must be found. He did not think that the measure would be injurious to the landed interest, and therefore they were not entitled to demand compensation; but he had expected there would have been a diminution, if not a repeal, of the malt tax, which was not only oppressive, but unequal. He objected to the retention of a rag of protection for three years; the landed interest desired to have a settlement of the question at once. Though he disapproved the bill, he must vote for it, as he had no alternative except that of rejecting the measure for another year.

The Duke of Cleveland, at considerable length, vindicated the cause of protection, and affirmed that

the Government were unworthily yielding to mere clamour, the effect of which would be visible, a few years hence, in the destruction of other and more important interests than the corn-laws.

The Marquis of Londonderry supported the bill; he maintained that, not only in the county of Durham, but throughout the whole of the north of England, the feeling of the farmer was in favour of the Government measure. The noble marquis saw no reason for withdrawing his confidence from her Majesty's Ministers, considering how well they had carried the country through great difficulties. He maintained that this was more a question of rent-roll and profit than one of high principle.

Lord Stanley next rose, and his speech, which was delivered with great emphasis, attracted the general attention of the House. The principle of protection to native industry had been recognised by all our past legislation, and had received the sanction of our most distinguished statesmen—Chatham, Pitt, Huskisson, Liverpool, Canning, and Grey. All foreign countries, also, who had any interest in the cultivation of the soil, protected by special legislation their native industry. After complimenting the Duke of Wellington, whose character raised him above all suspicion, and also admitting that Sir Robert Peel really believed in the emergency which had led him to propose the present measure, he contended that the Government had mistaken the brawling torrent of agitation for the small still current of public opinion. The Anti-corn-law League had triumphed over the Ministers of the Crown, and these again had triumphed over their own political supporters, and even over the independence of Parliament. But when the Government were asked what would be the probable consequence of the present measure, they frankly declared that they did not know. They were about to try this great experiment, not in some remote corner of the globe, where an error was not irrevocable, but in the wealthiest, mightiest, and most artificially constructed country in the world. The grounds assigned for the measure were the famine in Ireland and the success of the tariff; but these reasons were mutually at variance. If this bill relieved the famine in Ireland, it could only be by bringing down the price of corn to the means of the starving population of Ireland. Their lordships must distinguish between famine and great local scarcity. He spoke of famine in Ireland as a vision, a baseless vision: he spoke in different terms of the amount of destitution and distress through the partial failure of the potato crop. When the subject came before the Cabinet of which he was a member, he yielded his own opinion, and consented to a suspension, and a suspension only, of the Corn-law; a total abolition he considered unjustifiable in itself; but he was left alone. The noble lord then entered into personal details respecting the dissensions in the Cabinet during last autumn, intimating that, though he disbelieved in the existence of a "famine," he had, nevertheless, been willing to join in a temporary suspension of the corn-laws, provided that it were temporary. Lord Stanley then entered into details respecting the course he had taken in these transactions, and then into statistical details applicable to the policy and effects of the existing corn-law, and particularly to the operation of the sliding-scale in checking the tendency of a rise in the price of corn, and in preventing the fluctuation of prices. This was a complete answer to those who said that fluctuation of prices was the peculiar vice of the sliding-scale; whereas, never had prices so fluctuated as during the free trade in corn, when we were most dependent on a foreign supply. In the prices of articles not subject to any sliding-scale, in which there was a free trade—potatoes and cotton, for example—the fluctuations were enormous. The present corn-law had kept us independent of foreign nations, lowered, and maintained a steadiness in, prices; and would any man contend that these advantages had been purchased by a sacrifice of any interest? So far from it, our exports had increased, our shipping had increased, the value of land had augmented; why, then, was this hazardous experiment to be made? The system of manufacturing prosperity was not without its danger; it should not be checked, but it ought to be carefully watched; the power of production was always overtaking that of absorption, and if manufacturers were pampered to an unwholesome increase, when the bubble burst the ruin would be extensive. But it was not clear that the repeal of the corn-law would increase manufactures. If an argument was drawn from the effects of the tariff upon other articles, the price of corn would rise with the repeal of the duty, for that of wool had risen. He, however, contended that the price of corn would fall greatly; that we should have an inundation of foreign corn at 40s. a quarter, making that about the price of corn in the British market. The large profits of the foreign corn-grower on the importation of the article into England would furnish him with capital, which he would apply to the raising of more corn. And how were the manufacturers to be benefited by this measure? Only by the reduction of wages. The price of labour must fall with the price of corn. If the labourers' wages were to be reduced, they ought to have the balance of advantages fairly put before them. The noble lord then showed the fallacy of the notion that Russia, Prussia, and the United States would not take our manufactures because we did not take their corn, and that our exports to these countries would increase after the bill passed. But admitting that there would be a great increase in the exports of our manufactures, difficulties might arise and war intervene; and when foreign markets were closed against us, and we had destroyed our home markets, then would be the period of bitter suffering to all, and especially to our artisans. And upon whom would the loss fall? Not merely on the landlords, but on the tenant-farmers, who must suspend improvements, discharge labourers, and reduce wages, according to the cold and selfish maxims of the free-traders. But if this system could be carried into effect in England, could it be even tried in Ireland? And to say that this measure was for the relief of Ireland was a proposition perfectly absurd. The noble lord then showed the injurious effects of the measure upon the colonies. Destroy the principle of protection, and he told them that they would destroy the whole basis on which our colonial system rested. If our colonies were taught commercial independence, they might learn political independence. With regard to Canada, we were going to break our promises to her, and more, we were about to destroy the communication by the St. Lawrence, and to make New York the channel of our communication with Upper Canada, whilst the United States saw our suicidal policy, and were taking advantage of it. In conclusion, his lordship made a powerful appeal to those noble lords who went with him in his argument, and disapproved of and were alarmed at this measure, and yet, for various reasons, were prepared to vote for it—against a blind deference to the authority of the other House, which, according to its recorded votes, had repeatedly negatived this measure:—

My lords, if, against your own opinions, you consent to pass this measure, be prepared to abdicate your high position in the constitution of this country. If you give up your own opinions under the intimidation of faction, or at the dictation of any minister, however great that minister may be, prepare hereafter to be considered as a subordinate part of the constitution. Prepare to be regarded as the registers of the edicts of the House of Commons, and as the blind followers of the minister of the day [loud cheers]. My lords, if I know anything of the constitution and of the value of this House, it is that it should interpose a wholesome and salutary obstacle to rash and inconsiderate legislation. It is to protect the people against the consequences of their own imprudence. It is not, my lords, it never has been and never should be, to resist the expression of well-formed and enlightened public opinion—to that your lordships have always, and I trust always will bow; but it is yours to check the progress of hasty and irreparable legislation—it is yours (though against this danger the constitution can hardly be supposed to provide), it is yours to protect the people, not against their own hasty judgment, but against the treachery of those whom they have chosen as their leaders [cheers]. My lords, if acting on your own deliberate and impartial judgment you scorn the degrading suspicion of unworthy motives, and you follow that course which in your consciences you believe to be for the good of the empire, you may be unsuccessful, but you will not be contemned—conquered you may be and overborne by numbers, but you will not be degraded. You may fail in saving the people from the threatened evil, but you will secure the approbation of your friends, and will compel the respect of your opponents [cheers from the cross benches].

Lord Brougham began by complaining of the disadvantage under which he laboured in addressing their lordships after a speech of so much power and eloquence at so late an hour. Lord Stanley denied the alleged famine in Ireland; and he (Lord Brougham) doubted any general famine in Ireland; but that a great scarcity existed there could be no doubt. He might maintain that there was no reason for introducing the measure this year, and yet support the measure on its merits. The noble and learned lord then showed the inconsistency of Lord Stanley's opposition to this bill with his advocacy of the Canada Corn Bill. With respect to the effect of this bill on prices, the question was too difficult to answer; it depended upon a great variety of considerations. The apprehensions of large tracts of foreign land being brought into cultivation were utterly groundless; where was the capital? Where were the labourers? The operation of increasing the growth of corn in such a country as the Ukraine must be gradual and slow. He did not argue that there would be no diminution of price in consequence of this bill; but he thought the diminution would be small. He could, from inquiry, undertake to say that the tenant-farmers were not apprehensive of this measure. He had met with many instances of farms let at an increased rent—none in which farms had been refused, or let at a reduced rent. He expected that the agriculturists would benefit from this measure to an extent far beyond the slight loss by a diminution in price. Lord Stanley had maintained that this country should not be dependent upon foreign nations for the food of the people, and contended that a war would exclude us. But Napoleon's almost universal power could not seal up the ports of the continent against the exportation of grain to this country, for in one year (1810) a million and a half of quarters were sent hither, a great part from the ports of France itself. The argument drawn by Lord Stanley from the existence of protective laws in other countries, was neutralised by his admission, that the moment a pressure came the law was suspended in all those countries. The noble and learned lord then discussed the other arguments of Lord Stanley, to which he replied in some detail, and prognosticated, that if we set other nations the example of a liberal tariff, they would follow it, and the benefit would be mutual. The noble and learned lord concluded by disclaiming all community of feeling with those who assailed the landed interest, upon which, as well as upon Sir R. Peel, he pronounced a high eulogium.

On the motion of Lord Wilton, the debate was adjourned till Tuesday.

SUPPLY.

On Monday night, on the order of the day being moved, that the House do now resolve itself into a committee of supply, Mr. W. Williams objected to the discussion of the miscellaneous estimates that evening. Those estimates were only delivered on Saturday morning, and he had not yet had time to read them. He had never known an instance in which the miscellaneous had been taken before the army and navy estimates.

Mr. Cardwell proposed to take the miscellaneous estimates that night, because, at this season of the year, it was necessary that they should be granted. A vote had been already taken on account of the army, navy, and ordnance estimates, but not on account of the miscellaneous estimates and the civil contingencies.

Lord J. Russell and Mr. Aglionby urged that the Government had not treated the House fairly in bringing on these estimates so soon after their delivery; and Sir R. Inglis and Sir R. Peel defended the conduct of the Government, and disclaimed any intention of taking the House by surprise.

The order of the day was then read, and the House resolved itself into committee of supply.

On the first vote, £20,000 for civil contingencies, Mr. Williams objected to several of the items. For instance, there was a charge of £600 for taking out a bishop to Jerusalem, there not being ten persons of the Established Church to take charge of when he arrived there. There was likewise a charge for the Archbishop of Tripoli. As he did not belong to the Established Church, he should like to know what sect this right reverend prelate belonged to. He saw a considerable sum, too, for the expenses of the journeys of Sir S. Canning. Now, if these were taken in the performance of duty he should not object; but he did protest against so well-paid an officer charging his pleasure trips on the country. He objected also to the sum of £8,076 for the burial of the Princess Sophia. He should not do so if it were not ascertained that the princess died in the possession of considerable property. He never could object to the visits of foreign princes to our court, but he was at some loss to know how the sum of £2,161 was expended in journeys to this country, with reference to the visits of those princes. He found the heavy charge of £5,441 for the landlord and tenant commission in Ireland, and the still heavier charge of £10,000 for the conduct of the inquiry as to diseased potatoes. It appeared to him that the latter sum would be much better applied in purchasing food for the people, instead of inquiring into the extent of a calamity which the public of the two countries were perfectly convinced must befall Ireland in the course of this year.

Mr. Cardwell defended the items, which were ultimately agreed to.

Other items were also protested against, such as £100 to repair Marlborough house, the residence of the Queen Dowager, who already enjoys a very large public allowance, and large sums for the sustentation of Scottish cathedrals.

After the principal portion of the estimates had been voted, the Chairman reported progress at half past twelve o'clock.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Proposed Irish Measures.—On Monday night, in the House of Commons, in reply to a question from Mr. S. Crawford, Sir R. Peel stated that early after the recess, Lord Lincoln, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, would introduce three bills for the purpose of improving the relation between landlord and tenant in Ireland. The first bill would grant compensation to the tenants for improvement; the second would amend the existing laws of distress and ejectment; and the third would prescribe short forms of leases, and would reduce the stamp duties upon them. These bills would have been introduced before this time had it not been for the unfortunate indisposition of Lord Lincoln. Before the House adjourned for the Whitsun holidays, he would inform the House on what day after them Lord Lincoln would move for leave to bring in the bills to which he had alluded.

Birth of a Princess.—In both Houses, on Monday night, the birth of a Princess was announced by the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel, respectively, and addresses of congratulation to her Majesty adopted on the addition just made to her domestic happiness by the birth of another Princess. In the course of his speech Sir R. Peel passed a brief but eloquent encomium on the admirable manner in which her Majesty discharged all the duties of her distinguished situation, both public and private.

State of Public Business.—On Monday night Lord John Russell complained of the delay in moving the second reading of the Protection of Life Bill, which, although it stood first on the orders of the day, was postponed in favour of the miscellaneous estimates. Though he had supported its first reading, because it had been sent down to them from the House of Lords, he should have felt it to be his duty, if it had been brought forward that evening, to give his strenuous opposition to the second reading. Sir R. Peel showed, that the pressure of the Corn Importation Bill and of the Customs Regulation Bill, and the promise given by himself that the Factory Bill should be discussed on a Government evening, had prevented him from hitherto bringing on the second reading of the Protection of Life Bill. It was true that that bill stood for to-night, but the Government deemed it necessary to bring in the estimates before it, inasmuch as without a supply they could not conduct the public business. He proposed that on Friday night the Chancellor of the Exchequer should make the annual financial statement; and afterwards the state of public business would enable him to see and to state on what evening he could proceed with this bill.

On Thursday evening, Viscount Errington submitted a motion for the re-appointment of the Real Property commission, but during his speech the House was counted out.

Crime in Ireland.—Mr. O'Connell observed, that the returns on the table proved that crime had recently diminished in Ireland; and he attributed it to the assistance given by the Government in various parts of Ireland to supply the wants of the destitute and starving population. Sir R. Peel thanked Mr. O'Connell for the handsome manner in which upon this and on a former occasion he had acknowledged the services of the Irish Government; but attributed the diminution of crime in Ireland to the knowledge of the disturbers of Irish tranquillity that this bill, which had already passed the House of Lords, had also been read a first time in the House of Commons.

Sugar Duties.—Lord J. Russell on Monday night gave notice, that in committee on the sugar duties he would move a reduction of the duties on all foreign sugar to the rates proposed by her Majesty's Government on foreign free-labour sugar; and that, if the House should agree to that resolution, he should propose a resolution prospectively, with a view to abolish all the differential duties on foreign sugar.

The Adjournment.—The Lords adjourn to-morrow, and the Commons on Friday, till the Thursday following, for the Whitsun holidays.

It having been found that the sailor who got into the gardens of Buckingham Palace last week is really what he represented himself to be, a deserter from a man-of-war at Portsmouth, he has been handed over to the naval authorities.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, May 27th.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

The debate upon the Corn Importation Bill was resumed last night in the House of Lords; crowded benches and thronged avenues testifying to the unabated interest which attaches to this question.

"By a strange sort of spontaneous order," says the *Times*, "the debate of the evening was in great measure confined to one rank of the peerage. The earls, the representatives of the old Saxon Wittenagemot, took the chief place in the discussion. The Earl of WILTON confessed himself unshaken in the creed of Protection. The Earl of CARDIGAN considered his honour bound up in the cause. The Earl of WINCHILSEA viewed with an alarm sufficiently justified, we admit, by the reckless if not downward rapidity of our political progress, one step more towards serious constitutional change. The Earls of CARNARVON and HARDWICKE stood by their party, and for the venerable system of the last thirty years. MALMESBURY and GRANVILLE added their names and their zeal to the list. On the other hand, the Earls of CLARENDON and HADDINGTON contributed from opposite sides their more reasoned, considerate, and responsible support. Of the two it cannot be concealed that Ministers had to thank their opponent rather than their colleague. Lord CLARENDON showed the more ability and grace. Both of them repudiated with vehemence the claims of a spurious consistency; but the Minister laboured under the disadvantage of being his own apologist; while Lord CLARENDON was the chivalrous deliverer of his rivals. His speech was as powerful and compendious, as weighty both in tone and in matter, as any that has been delivered throughout the continuance of this endless discussion. Besides these nine earls, the Duke of CAMBRIDGE and the Marquis of NORMANBY were the only speakers. His Royal Highness, who some time since expressed himself unwilling to believe the report of a famine, is now equally loath to admit the necessity of a change, and feels himself compelled to withhold his support from the bill. Lord NORMANBY rejoiced in his exemption from the peculiar delicacies which had tied Lord Stanley's tongue; and he accordingly commented on the Ministerial measure with the temper of a rival, and the freedom of a comparatively consistent politician. The Earl of WICKLOW is in possession of the House. With so small an instalment of the earls delivered of their consciences and their speeches, and the other orders of nobility comparatively untouched, it is fearful to think how much remains to be done. Everybody has to speak. When will it end? To-day is Wednesday, and 'the Derby;' Friday, the Restoration. Thursday is the only available day this week. So here, at once, is an adjournment over the Whitsun holidays. How many new topics—how many encouragements will that interval supply? The Lords will return from the country refreshed like giants for the work. We tremble not for the result, but for the hopes and disappointments this respite may occasion. June already seems too short for the progress of the bill. How many things, too, are there to divide their lordships' attention? However, it is only a question of time, and the persons chiefly interested in despatch are, we sincerely believe, the agriculturists themselves."

The latter part of the proceedings of the House was curious:—

The Duke of RICHMOND suggested that Earl Grey should now be heard [a laugh].

Earl GREY said he would wish to make a slight alteration in the proposition of the noble duke; it was to give precedence, now, to his noble friend opposite (the Earl of Wicklow) [laughter].

Lord BROUGHAM said, unless it was clearly and distinctly understood that the debate would be concluded on Thursday, he thought they should meet on Friday, even at the risk of attending the service of the church [hear, hear]. Why their lordships should have such an apparent horror of attending that service he really was at a loss to conceive [a laugh].

Lord CAMPBELL: I move that Earl Grey be now heard [loud cheers and laughter].

The LORD CHANCELLOR then put the motion that Earl Grey be now heard, which was carried *nemine dissentiente*.

Earl GREY: I move that the debate be now adjourned [cheers and laughter].

The Earl of WICKLOW: To Thursday.

The motion as amended was put and carried.

The House then adjourned at two o'clock until Thursday.

In the House of Commons little business worth noticing was done last night, the discussion on several railway bills occupying its attention until seven o'clock.

Mr. EWART rose to move two resolutions—one declaratory of the expediency of discontinuing the present system of making the colony of Van Diemen's Land a general receptacle for convicts; and the other declaratory of the expediency of no longer maintaining transportation except as a supplement to the previous punishment of imprisonment. He was proceeding to make a statement explanatory of the grounds of his motion, when

An hon. member moved that the House be counted; and, there being only twenty-seven members present, the House stood adjourned.

Sir R. Peel is to move the adjournment for the Whitsun holidays on Friday, till the following Friday.

THE QUEEN'S HEALTH.—The following *bulletin* of the Queen's health was issued yesterday morning:—

Buckingham-palace, May 26,
9 o'clock a.m.

The Queen has passed an excellent night.

Her Majesty and the infant Princess are going on favourably.

JAMES CLARK, M.D.
CHARLES LOCOCK, M.D.
ROBERT FERGUSON, M.D.

At the annual meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, held on Friday, the Earl of Egmont was chosen President for the year ensuing. The Society consists of 6,971 members.

DREADFUL COLLISION ON THE MERSEY, AND LOSS OF LIFE.

(From the *Liverpool Times*.)

A collision, attended with a frightful loss of life, took place on the river Mersey on Monday night, off the Magazines, at a quarter before eleven o'clock, between the iron steamer, Sea Nymph, which was leaving this port for Newry, and the iron steam-boat, Rambler, which was entering the river from Sligo, with upwards of 250 passengers, and a great quantity of cattle. The following particulars of this melancholy event have been communicated to us by a gentleman residing at the Magazines, who heard the collision, and has been on the spot all night, assisting to rescue the survivors of the Rambler's crew.

At the time when the collison took place, the boats were proceeding in opposite directions, but the reason why they came into collision must be matter for subsequent inquiry. Our informant states that the night was clear. From some cause, however, instead of passing each other, the Sea Nymph struck the Rambler on the larboard bow with terrible violence, cutting away her bulwarks and her hull much below the water line. Several of the passengers of the Rambler were either killed on the spot or dreadfully injured, and others were crushed by the falling of the cattle. The Rambler, though a good boat, is not built in compartments, and therefore began to fill immediately; but the collision having happily taken place within a short distance of the shore, the Magazines life-boat was got out immediately, and saved the greater part of the passengers in five trips which it made to the wreck. The Rambler was subseqently run on shore. Within a very short time the inhabitants of the Magazines were roused, and numbers of them ran down to the shore to render all the assistance in their power, and within a short time the survivors were removed to different houses and cottages, the wounded were sent over to the Liverpool hospitals, and the killed laid in the life-boat-house and other places. The number of bodies lying in the life-boat-house is thirteen; there are five persons dead in private houses, three are known to be drowned, and twenty of the passengers were so much injured as to render it necessary to send them to the hospitals. This is the extent of the catastrophe, so far as it is at present known.

The scene when the collision took place was most heart-rending. The cries and groans of the wounded, with the shrieks and lamentations of the poor creatures who had seen their husbands and children crushed or drowned in their presence, were such as would have moved the hardest heart. During the whole night successive scenes of misery continued to present themselves.

REPEAL ASSOCIATION.—At the usual meeting of this body on Monday, a long letter was read from Mr. O'Connell, in the course of which he refers to the probability of Mr. O'Brien's release, denies all the rumours of any dissension in the Repeal camp, and says that the Coercion Bill is virtually abandoned. Mr. Meagher, Mr. O'Gorman, Mr. M. J. Barry, and Mr. Doheny (barristers), addressed the meeting, and, on the part of "Young Ireland," denied most emphatically that there were any grounds for the suppositions indulged in so freely, that the members of that party were in antagonism to Mr. O'Connell. On the motion of Mr. Steele, the meeting gave nine cheers for her Majesty. Mr. Grattan, M.P., and other gentlemen, having addressed the meeting, the rent for the week was announced to be £109 13s. 11d.

Mr. O'Connell is expected in Dublin on Monday next, to attend the Repeal Association on that day.

THE REPEALERS are split into O'Connellites and O'Brienites. The *Pilot* chuckles over the incarceration of "Young Ireland's" leader in the House of Commons cellar:—the *Limerick Examiner* laments the "snail-like course" of the "Old Ireland" party, and claims the fulfilment of O'Connell's three-year-old promises.

THE NEW POTATO CROP IN IRELAND.—Already there are some unfavourable accounts of the new potato crop, and, although the majority of the reports are so far satisfactory, alarm begins to prevail lest we should have this year a renewal of the calamitous failure of the last. In Drogheda and the coast villages adjacent, where the potato disease first exhibited itself last summer, decided symptoms of decay have been discovered in the young plants.

The report is again current in Dublin that Sir Edward Sugden will shortly retire from his present office, and leave Ireland.

BRITISH ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—The second anniversary of this Society is to be held at the London Tavern, to-morrow (Thursday) evening. We call especial attention to this meeting, as one of the highest interest and importance; and we are glad to know that the subjects for discussion are to be introduced by men who will do them justice. Dr. Price, Dr. Campbell, Mr. Brock (of Norwich), Mr. A. J. Morris (of Holloway), Mr. Stovel, Dr. Lee, Mr. Burnet, Mr. E. Miall, and other gentlemen have engaged to speak.

EDUCATION IN WALES.—The National Society have it in contemplation to raise a special and separate fund for the education of the poorer classes in the Principality.

THE STRIKE.—The strike, we are happy to hear, is likely to terminate next week. The men have conducted themselves excellently, and the masters, giving way to their naturally kind dispositions, are disposed to relax in their terms. Both parties have now done enough to show their independence; their next move will be to work.—*Liverpool Journal.*

JOHN HAMPDEN.—We hear that there is to be a public meeting and dinner at Chalgrove-field, on the 18th of June next, being the anniversary of the death of this distinguished patriot.—*Aylesbury News.*

The *Record* states that one individual has given £40,000 for the endowment of an additional bishopric.

EDUCATION AT EPSOM.—On Wednesday, the 20th of May, the foundation-stone of a new Congregational chapel and British schools was laid at Epsom, by T. T. Graham, M.D.

NEWENT, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—On Tuesday, the 5th instant, an elegant and commodious Independent chapel was opened in the town of Newent, Gloucestershire. Mr. S. Marten, of Westminster, preached in the morning and evening, and a public meeting was held in the afternoon. Messrs. Wilsford, Wheeler, Horlick, Hyatt, Parsons, Backhouse, Brown, White, Hodson, and others, took part in the very interesting services of this memorable day, and Mr. H. Wilsford, of Tewkesbury, preached two sermons on the following Sabbath. The purchase of ground, and the erection of a handsome chapel and commodious room for a Sunday-school, as well as a British and Foreign day-school, have involved the expenditure of about £1,250. The churches in the vicinity have, in addition to other heavy incidental expenses, subscribed as follows:—Tewkesbury, £150; Gloucester, £150; Cheltenham, £100; Stroud (Old chapel), £150; Stroud (Bedford-street), £100. In addition to these sums, Rodbro' Tabernacle has given a handsome contribution, and also Ebley chapel its promise; and also contributions of £100 have been raised at Bristol, so about £400 are yet to be provided. Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart., has taken a deep interest in the case, and has given £20.

DEATH FROM A PEA.—A boy, two years of age, called Charles Stewart M'Fale, died on Tuesday, from swallowing a pea. On a *post mortem* examination, the pea was found firmly lodged in the larynx.

FALL IN THE PRICE OF BREAD.—The important reduction of three-halfpence in the price of the 4lb. loaf was last week carried out by many of the bakers of the metropolis; the result of this is, that bread of excellent quality is now selling at 6d. per 4lbs.

SHORTENING THE HOURS OF LABOUR.—The clerks of Birmingham held a meeting on Tuesday evening, at the Public Office, to consider the propriety of taking steps to procure an abridgment of the hours of labour. Mr. G. Dawson, M.A., presided. An association was formed, and a committee appointed to draw up a memorial to the employers. The proceedings were of an interesting character, and reflected credit on the ability and spirit of the parties concerned.—*Midland Counties Herald.*

ART-UNIONS.—Ministers seem to be irrevocably set against legalising the lottery principle in drawing for Art Union prizes. Last week a deputation, headed by the Duke of Cambridge, and consisting of Lord Monteagle, Mr. Wyse, Mr. Ewart, Mr. B. B. Cabbel, and Messrs. Godwin and Pocock, the secretaries of the London Art Union, had a long interview with Sir R. Peel and Mr. Goulburn on the subject, but could not move them from their position by any representation or argument. The question accordingly remains *sub judice*, with the opinion of the court hostile to it. Petitions in favour of legalising Art Unions are being got up in different parts of the country, but it is now confidently believed that no lotteries or raffles whatever will be in any case legalised.

In August, 1844, John Weeks murdered his brother Edward, at the village of Boxley, near Maidstone: until three weeks since nothing was heard of the criminal, though £100 had been offered for his apprehension; but on the 2nd instant, a body was found in a pond at Brenchley, near Tunbridge Wells, which was identified as that of John Weeks; and it appeared that he had been recently in the employ of a neighbouring farmer. It is supposed that the murderer committed suicide.

THE MAYOR OF LIVERPOOL communicated to the town council, on Tuesday, that Prince Albert had named the 30th and 31st of July to lay the foundation stone of a building for a Sailors' Home in that town. The Mayor stated that there is no truth whatever in the rumour that the Queen will accompany his Royal Highness, no such intention ever having been expressed by her Majesty.

ATTEMPT TO POISON FOUR PERSONS AT BIRMINGHAM.—On Monday, a woman, named Mary Ann Lawless was committed, by the magistrates of Birmingham, to take her trial at the next Warwick assizes for attempting to poison her husband and three other persons, by putting arsenic in the tea-pot. Soon after partaking of the second cup, none of which Mrs. Lawless drank herself, they were taken ill, and, but for the timely and prompt assistance of the stomach pump, in all probability they must have all died.

ACCIDENTS ON RAILWAYS.—It appears from a report of the officers of the Board of Trade, that the average of persons killed to the total number carried is 1 in 1,825,664; and of persons not fatally injured, 1 in 371,886; and of the total number injured, 1 in 308,959. The proportion which the number of passengers killed bears to the total number carried is:—in 1840, 1 in 274,085; in 1841, 1 in 852,073; in 1842, 1 in 4,271,689; 1843, 1 in 8,524,175; 1844, 1 in 3,036,305; and in the first six months of 1845, 1 in 8,360,275.

PAT *v.* JONATHAN.—The very last case of "raising the wind" is that of an Irishman who walked into a grocer's store a short time since, and, seeing the owner busy, seized a large cheese from a pile that was near him, and clapping it on his head, asked the storekeeper if he wanted to buy a cheese? "No," said the unsuspicious storekeeper. "Well," says Pat, "I must try somewhere else then," and marched off with the cheese on his head. The man discovered his loss in a few minutes, but Pat was too spry for him, and succeeded in making good his escape.—*American paper.*

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

—	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans	Peas	Flour.
English	3540	600	2630			
Scotch.....						
Irish			2550			
Foreign	2120		1770			

No alteration in prices; trade very dull.

Terms for advertising in the *Nonconformist*.
For 7 lines....5s. 0d. | For 10 lines....6s. 0d.
For every additional line..... 4d.
All communications to the Editor should be addressed to the office, 3, Whitefriars-street, Fleet-street.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Jubal." We believe he is misinformed.

"A Constant Reader." The complaint is one to be brought before the offender rather than before the public.

"Dissidens." We are overcrowded, and must therefore decline.

"Commentator" is in type, but must stand over till next week.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1846.

SUMMARY.

THE great measure of the session—the hope of commerce, and the germ, we trust, of increased comfort to all classes—is now fairly before the House of Lords. Endless, and for the most part ominous, have been the predictions of the reception that awaited it. From the vapouring of some prints, from the earnest exhortations of others, one might have inferred that their lordships would be moved, by its very appearance, into unseemly perturbation—that aristocratic apathy would be converted, for once, into the rage of disappointed hopes, or the violence of passionate zeal. It has been far otherwise. The discussion upon the second reading commenced on Monday night, and, if it be true, as the Duke of Richmond intimated, that the safety of the throne, the stability of the church, the privileges of the aristocracy, and all the blessings of our glorious constitution are bound up with the maintenance of the protective system, never was so revolutionary a measure debated with such easy placidity of spirit. With few exceptions all was calm, and even cheerful. There was more merriment than usual. The speeches were short, all but Lord Stanley's, and, though here and there spiced with personality, bore more directly upon the measure than upon the authors of it. Lord Stanley's speech, considered as the main defence of the Protectionist party, we have little right to complain of for its length, and, looking to his usual temper, we are more surprised by its comparative mildness, than by its occasional ebullitions of wounded feeling. In argument, it retrod ground with which all persons of the smallest intelligence are now familiar. It was a credit to the rhetorician rather than to the statesman. It set off the noble lord as a fluent and ornate speaker, rather than as a wise and temperate ruler. It displayed powers of a high order; but not those powers which are most requisite for just and enlightened government. Lord Brougham followed Lord Stanley, in a speech far less wordy than usual, disfigured by fewer eccentricities, and confined more rigidly to the point in hand. The ex-Chancellor dealt less in abuse, and more in eulogy, than is his wont; and, towards the conclusion of his speech, pronounced a panegyric upon Sir R. Peel which ought to be an "open sesame" to any office at the honourable baronet's disposal. These were the two great speeches of the night. Of the rest we shall remark nothing but the peculiarities. The debate was opened by Lord Ripon, who, when Mr. Robinson, proposed the corn-law of 1815. His speech was an elaborate apology for himself, and touched but slightly upon the real merits of the question. There is one sentence in it, however, which proves the reality of his conversion, by intimating his readiness to dispense with the three years' "intermediate state." The Duke of Richmond led off the opposition in that style of bombast and solemn menace for which he is so distinguished. Earl Fitzwilliam, representing the fixed-duty Whigs, hailed the measure as one of free-trade, but would have been better pleased with it if it had taxed corn for the sake of revenue, and released the agriculturalist from the duty on malt. Anxious, however, not to peril the scheme, he would take it as it stood, reject all attempts at alteration, and see it, according to his own confident anticipations, indelibly recorded upon the statute-book. The Marquis of Londonderry had full confidence in the present Government; and, seeing no great reason for ado in a measure merely affecting the importation of corn, he should vote with his friends, and look, we suppose, at some future time for some substantial tokens of Ministerial gratitude. The debate was adjourned. According to the present signs, it will not be protracted beyond three or four nights, and the second reading, it is expected, will be carried by a considerable majority.

The House of Commons has been variously occupied. Mr. Duncombe's bill for abolishing night work in lace factories, after a short discussion, was thrown out on Wednesday. The Ten Hours bill, to which we have elsewhere adverted, was unexpectedly rejected, by a majority of ten, after a third night's debate, in which Mr. Ward, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Bright, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Cobden took part. To Mr. Bright's speech we may refer as by far the best and most conclusive hitherto delivered on this question, and to Mr. Macaulay's as more deeply tinged with Whig expediency than even he is apt to exhibit. On Monday night, in answer to questions by Mr. Sharman Crawford and Lord John Russell, Sir R. Peel afforded the House a glimpse of the policy he intended to adopt with regard to Ireland. As early as possible after the Whitsun recess, he will introduce measures carrying out the recommendations of the landlord and tenant commission, the general object of which would be to provide compensation for improvements to out-going tenants, to amend the law of ejectment by distress, to prescribe a short form of lease, and to reduce the stamp duty on the leases of farms. As to the Coercion Bill he appears but little solicitous to push it forward. The second reading of it is fixed for Friday next, but only with the view of stating on that night when it will positively come on. Lord John Russell has announced his intention of giving it his most decided opposition.

The only other matters requiring notice are the voting of the miscellaneous supplies and the release of Mr. Smith O'Brien upon the motion of Mr. Shaw, upon the ground that the business of the committee, which the hon. member had been summoned to attend, has now come to a conclusion. Few words were wasted upon the latter subject. Sir R. Peel gave his assent, and the motion was unanimously agreed to.

The grand struggle in the House of Lords, between the Protectionist peers and the Government, has been preceded by one or two out-door meetings of a peculiarly significant character. Thursday last was a great day for the Monopolists—a real agricultural show. Their meetings at Bond-street have become proverbial for their select, rather than their crowded, attendance. In spite of all their confident assertions, the fact was manifest to all the world, that the great bulk of the tenant farmers put little trust in the sincerity of their opposition to the measure. Thus the Protectionist leaders have had the unenviable satisfaction of appearing to be a small and isolated body of obstructionists, with not even the semblance of popular support to palliate their selfish policy. This would never do; especially as there seemed a hope of throwing out the bill in the Lords. Hence the grand meeting, or rather meetings, of Thursday last, not of M.P.'s and landed proprietors merely, but of real *bonâ fide* tenant farmers, delegates from the bold yeomanry of England. There were actually upwards of 2,000 persons present. Here were, indeed, the outward and visible signs of intimate union between the aristocracy and their immediate dependants—a genuine parliament of the various members of the agricultural interest. Surely, after such a formidable array—such evidences of union—such an enthusiastic reception of the Duke of Richmond and the leaders of "the country party" in the lower House—no one would dare to say that landlords and tenants were not united heart and soul to defeat this obnoxious measure! One little fact has, however, come to light which is calculated to dissolve the pleasing illusion. Each farmer from Wiltshire, we are told—and surely this county was not an isolated case—received a certain amount of money for travelling expenses from the Protectionist Society. The great demonstration was, then, after all, a hired one, got up at the expense of the landed aristocracy, to serve their own purposes. And to crown the whole, all the advantage that they have derived from the demonstration has been the contempt of all reasonable men for the transparent trick, and, unkindest cut of all, the continued distrust and reproaches of the tenant-farmers,—at least, if we may judge from the tone of their weekly organ. On Saturday, moreover, the cause of the Protectionists received another heavy blow in the shape of the resolution adopted by from sixty to seventy peers of the Whig party to resist any mutilation of the Corn Bill in its passage through the House of Lords. Alas for the glories of Protection! Its death-struggle is near at hand. Farmers will not be wooed to rally round its tattered flag. Whig peers avoid, with ominous alacrity, its proffered friendship; statesmen deride it; the bulk of the intelligence and common-sense of the country is anxiously awaiting its downfall; and the Sovereign herself will, doubtless, be but too happy to dismiss it to that limbo in which are congregated so many records of the wisdom of our forefathers.

The foreign intelligence of the week is interesting. Although every mail from the United States brings fresh evidences of the satisfactory progress towards a speedy settlement of the Oregon question, we regret to learn that there is great danger of a war between that country and Mexico; in fact, according to some accounts, war has already been declared. Be this as it may, the forces of the two republics are in the neighbourhood of each other, and blood has already been shed. We shall suspend all further comment on these events until the arrival of more definite intelligence. The Indian mail brings unsatisfactory intelligence from the Punjaub. Gholab Singh, the British vassal, has already recommenced his intrigues, and wishes to obtain the whole of the Sikh territory. The disbanded troops have become so troublesome that the Governor-General contemplates employing a portion of them in the British service; and Sir H. Hardinge has retired to the frontier, where he remains for the present to watch the progress of events, or, in other words, to wait till the pear is ripe.

THE REFORM OF REFORMS.

IN the progress of all great questions there usually occurs a period of their history, during which they remain concealed from public notice. When early seed-time is over—when the flush of excitement occasioned by novelty has subsided—when too sanguine hopes have proved to be illusory, and they who entertain them begin to encounter apparently insurmountable difficulties—when other objects, and those of primary and urgent importance, demand immediate attention—and energies, somewhat overstrained by convulsive effort, lose, for a time, their elasticity and force—in short, when friends require a brief respite from toil, and foes take sleep for death—great movements towards social or political amelioration are temporarily suspended, and, to the superficial, seem to have died away altogether. They who thus judge, however, have read history and human nature to little purpose. In the world of politics, as of matter, each region has its winter. Questions of serious moment, like trees of hardy growth, shed their leaves, and remain bare. The sap ceases to rise—all the signs of life disappear—and, judging only from external indications, we might be deceived into the conclusion that death had achieved a triumph.

We *should* be deceived; for the seeming death is but the appointed means to new life. Throughout these periods of quiescence there are going forward, unobserved, processes necessary to a vigorous maturity. Impressions formerly produced are being deepened by silent observation. Theories, entertained only as fanciful speculations, are illustrated so often, so variously, so incidentally, by every-day facts, as to become condensed into practical axioms. Obstacles, once deemed immoveable, softened by surrounding influences, crumble away of themselves, or, bruised by unexpected events, fall to pieces. Embryo ideas take shape and consistency. Conclusions which startled us, rendered familiar by frequent converse with them, assume new aspects of beauty and of power. All that was previously aëriform, evasive, and held in solution by the public mind, crossed by some cold current in the political atmosphere, takes visible form, promising, at no distant period, to drop down in positive usefulness. Opinion hardens into conviction—conviction is quickened into principle—and, when occasion next brings round a joyous spring-tide, all men wonder at the progress which this or the other question has made.

Thus it has been with complete suffrage. The greater proportion, perhaps, of society, believe it to be an extinct movement. They hear not the noise of it—they trace not its footsteps. Its most active advocates have, of late, trusted to what Mr. Calhoun has designated "a masterly inactivity." But what then? Has its course been retrograde? Have the once-convinced relapsed into infidelity? or the zealous into indifference? Is the doctrine now scouted where it was heretofore welcomed? Has familiarity with it bred contempt, or silent meditation upon it detected its fallacy? No! The very opposite to all this may be affirmed as fact. In its embodied and institutional form it may have advanced but little—and, very possibly, too rapid a development of it might have endangered its maturity. But has nothing been gained for it during its short winter? Unhesitatingly, we answer, much everyway. True in itself, all collateral truth has thrown light upon it. Essentially just, every triumph of justice has aided it. The enmity of vulgar prejudices, which once assailed it, has had time to spend much of its force. It has ceased to be a bugbear. Its name is not now a word of terror with which to scare the timid. Men disclaiming it as a theory are making sidelong approaches to it in practice. Disappointed monopolists are heard muttering among their adherents that, had it prevailed, the country would have been saved. The divisions which set one section of its friends against another have come to nought. Jealousies have died away. Factious leaders have lost their influence. The question has settled down into a position which will allow of calm discussion. The heats of temper which used to come out upon its surface in such unsightly rashes, have given place to a healthier tone of feeling; and the principles of complete suffrage, when next they bud—as bud they will—will exhibit far less irregularity in their external manifestation than they ever have done since they were first transplanted into a middle-class soil.

We have been led to these remarks by the report inserted in another column, of the speeches delivered at the annual meeting of the Metropolitan Complete Suffrage Association. The crowded audience, the character of the speakers, the various sections of society represented by them, their earnestness and unison of feeling, and the enthusiasm which pervaded the entire assembly, might suffice to undeceive any who have hugged themselves into the belief that this movement has deceased. To the friends of the cause, it is peculiarly inspiriting to witness these symptoms of returning viridity. To the ardently disposed amongst them it has been harder to watch than to work—to nourish their thoughts and affections, than to give them exercise—to rest upon their oars, than to tug at them—but their reward is at hand, and in the greater breadth and depth to which the question has rooted itself in the public mind, they will see the best evidence of the wisdom which has guided them.

If we mistake not, times are at hand which will demand from Complete Suffragists the renewal of unwearied activity, and will repay all earnest efforts with abundant success. The final dissolution of party is at hand. The political influence of monopoly is sorely shaken. It was after Catholic Emancipation that the nation cried out with all-but unanimity for Parliamentary reform—who can say whether, after the repeal of the corn-laws, manufacturers and agriculturists, masters and workmen, all classes and all grades, may not, in a similar manner, unite in insisting upon "the reform of reforms"—the parent of healthy national progress—a complete representation of the people in the House of Commons?

SHORT TIME BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

The short-time bill, contrary to general expectation, has been rejected by the House of Commons. A majority of ten has refused it a second reading. A considerable number of the industrial classes will sustain a severe disappointment by this event. We sympathise with them in their feelings, although we cannot adopt their views. Their importunity is natural, for the pressure of protracted toil is heavy upon them—nor can we wonder at their exaggerated hopes, now again cast down into the dust, for they have been schooled by many generations of statesmen into the notion, that the simplest and most effective remedy for social evils is magisterial interference. Our operatives are cruelly reminded day by day that they are the wasting victims of an enormous wrong—they have been taught to believe that legislation can easily and permanently ameliorate their condition—they had cogent reasons, in the present anomalous state of parties, for anticipating early, if not immediate, relief—and, hence their mortification, that the will of Parliament, over which they are allowed no direct control, should interpose between their suffering and its supposed cure, and leave them hopeless slaves in a land of freedom.

Our desires fully keep up with those of the working-classes, that the object they have at heart may be speedily realised. Their toil we admit to be excessive, and, both for them, and for other servants whom this bill was not designed to affect, we are zealous advocates for some abridgment of labour. We are so on many grounds. We see in the present system a perpetual violation of physical laws which no mortals can overstep with impunity. We trace directly to this source much of that absence of domestic comfort, order, and discipline, which are necessary to make home attractive, and the want of which furnishes too strong an inducement to seek temporary forgetfulness in gross dissipation. We are thoroughly alive to the educational disadvantages which too many hours' work heaps upon the heads of those who live by their industry. We know the moral temptations to which they are thereby exposed; and we deplore, with sincere grief of heart, their consequent unfitness for profiting by religious instruction. These evils, affecting, too, as they do, so large and important a class of the community, it is difficult to over-rate. Mere commercial prosperity is a trivial thing when put into the opposite scale against them. With a view to their cure, we could cheerfully consent to endure much inconvenience, to put up with many anomalies, and to surrender many theories which, for a long time past, have had an undisturbed home in our understandings. But, ere we do so, we think ourselves entitled to prescribe one condition—that the remedy be not worse than the disease.

The working men who have evinced the deepest interest in this measure appear to us to have contemplated it under too exclusive a light. They seem to think that increased restrictions upon the master-manufacturers imply a proportionable enlargement of their own freedom. They lose sight of the fact that the relation between themselves and their employers cannot be touched by coercion without subjecting both parties to inconvenient restraints. It is always dangerous to call in a foreign power for the settlement of domestic disputes. They who court an invasion may thereby gain their immediate object, but they usually do so at the expense of their own liberty. Labour, in helping to set a master over capital, is employed in forging chains for itself. An embargo laid upon the moving power, may too often turn out to be an embargo laid upon the means of subsistence. The legislature's "thou shalt not" may prove as embarrassing to the employed as to the employers. In periods of depression, when wages fall, the law which stops machinery, and with it the chance of ekeing out more bread, may press far more severely upon the operative than upon his master. The proposed remedy abridges the liberty of the subject in many ways—and as it is, and must be, unaccompanied by a legislative regulation of wages, we are thoroughly convinced that, in the long run, industry would be far more hampered by it than capital.

We apprehend, moreover, that the almost endlessly diversified resources of capital are not duly appreciated by those who seek Government interposition. Bind it down as to the hours of labour, and it will work out its end by other, and possibly more pernicious, means. A lower scale of remuneration—a greater speed of the motive power—a fresh displacement of living hands by new mechanical contrivances—hundreds of yet unthought-of regulations, tending to fritter away any slight advantage gained by the Short Time Bill—would bring home conviction to the working classes that coercion is the most dangerous weapon they can wield against capital. For every wrong which it cuts down, two will spring up in its place. The selfishness of human nature, common to all classes, will make a way to its object where it cannot find one. If one mode of evading disagreeable restraints be unsuccessful, another will be discovered. The policy which commands a sacrifice to be made somewhere will eventually throw that sacrifice upon the most dependent class. The Ten Hours' Bill, founded upon a vicious principle, would curtail the rights of labour without permanently increasing its comforts. It would cost the poor man too much—it would ultimately repay him nothing. We are not sorry, therefore, for its rejection by Parliament.

There is in our bonded warehouses at this moment no less than 1,524,467 quarters of wheat, besides 940,871 cwts. of flour.

THE FREE-TRADE MEASURE.

OUT-DOOR AGITATION.

The Protectionists held two great meetings on Thursday, at Willis's Rooms; the up-stairs meeting presided over by the Duke of Richmond, and the down-stairs by the Duke of Buckingham. This arrangement was rendered necessary by the great numbers which sought admission. The assemblage had been called together by the Central Agricultural Protection Society; and consisted, for the most part, of delegates of the tenant-farmer class, sent up from the various counties. Among the notables were the two Dukes already mentioned, the Marquis of Worcester, Lord Beaumont, Lord Sondes, Lord Southampton, the Marquis of Salisbury, Earl Somers, Earl of Malmesbury, Marquis of Granby, Earl of Stradbroke, Lord Newport, Viscount Strangford, Viscount Campden, Earl of Egmont, Earl of Sheffield, Lord Redesdale, Earl of March, Lord H. Lennox, Lord E. Hill, Lord George Bentinck, Mr. D'Israeli, Mr. Stafford O'Brien, Mr. William Miles, Mr. Yorke, and other Protectionist members of the House of Commons. The same resolutions were proposed and adopted in both rooms. The cheering elicited by anti-Ministerial and anti-free-trade sentiments is spoken of as "tremendous" and "deafening," which of course it was. The resolutions stated that the meeting had been convened to refute the unfounded assertion that the opinions of the tenant-farmers of England had undergone a change on the subject of "free-trade;" a sincere hope is expressed that the Lords will not suffer themselves to be deluded by such representations; the farmers of England rely, with implicit confidence, that the Lords will reject the Government measure, and thus afford the country an opportunity of expressing an opinion through the medium of a new election. A petition to the House of Lords, embodying these views, was adopted. The speeches of the tenant-farmers were of the same cast as those which the first promulgation of the Ministerial measures gave rise to at the provincial Protection meetings. Denunciations of Sir Robert Peel, prognostications of ruin to farmers and labourers, and disasters to all interested, constituted the staple.

Mr. J. Towers, from Essex, proposed a vote of thanks to Lord George Bentinck and the 240 members of the House of Commons who had so ably and nobly fought their battle. The resolution having been carried, the following rich scene occurred, reminding one of the playing at soldiers indulged in by the juvenile members of the community:—

Lord George Bentinck came forward to address the meeting, and was received with loud cheers. He was about to commence his address, when

The Chairman suggested that Mr. D'Israeli also should stand forward.

Mr. D'Israeli accordingly came forward.

A Voice: Mr. Miles—Mr. Miles [cheers].

Mr. Miles also came forward.

Another Voice: And Mr. Stafford O'Brien [cheers].

Mr. Stafford O'Brien came forward.

Several Voices: And Colonel Sibthorp, and Sir John Tyrrell, and—[loud cheers].

The last-named personages and several others having come forward, the entire body of gentlemen formed a line on the front of the platform. Lord George Bentinck occupied the central and most prominent position, about a step in advance of his colleagues, supported on the left by Mr. D'Israeli. This arrangement called forth the repeated cheers of the assembly.

Lord George Bentinck, in returning thanks, called upon the farmers of England, to exert themselves:—

You must really fight the battle, because all depends on you. I call upon you to stand true to yourselves, and to vote again as you have voted in 1841. I care not what may happen in the House of Lords. My belief is, that the House of Lords will so mangle and mutilate the bill, that the House of Commons cannot pass it; and, therefore, you are the parties who must decide the question.

The Duke of Richmond made proclamation of Lord Stanley as leader of the Protection phalanx in the House of Lords: he would stand bail for the honesty of Lord Stanley. Mr. D'Israeli assured the farmers he was not daunted by their position, although he knew its difficulties:—

I give you the same advice which my noble friend has given you; we meet for no idle work; we meet to become better acquainted with each other; and we send you into your respective counties to circulate the news, that though your leaders in London fight a difficult battle, still they have this advantage, that they have faith in their cause.

The *Daily News* says that each farmer present from Wiltshire received £2 10s from the Society, for travelling expenses.

The City petition to the Lords (praying for the speedy passing of the Corn Bill) has already received the signatures of the great majority of the most influential bankers and merchants, without reference to party politics.—*Morning Chronicle.*

A meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, described by the *Morning Chronicle* as one of the largest and most influential meetings of that body ever held, took place on Thursday, in consequence of a report that danger to the Government measures is to be apprehended in the House of Lords. The Chairman, Mr. T. Bazley, junior, reported the progress of a deputation to Sir Robert Peel, an unsuccessful application to Lord Stanley, and other proceedings. Much injury had arisen to trade from the delay which had already taken place.

Hitherto, employment has been continued to a great extent in this district, I believe, in the confident hope that the measure now before Parliament, if passed into law, will bring immediate and permanent relief to the trade of this country, and to the trade of Lancashire in particular. And I have some doubt that, to a very great extent, the labouring classes are being paid at the present time—more especially those in connexion with the establishments having steam or other power to propel them—I have some doubt, I say, that these labouring classes are being paid, to a great extent, out of capital—neither out of money received from ordinary sales, nor from the usual resources of business, but clearly out of the capital, which I fear, in many instances, is rapidly diminishing. This cannot continue long.

Mr. Alderman Callender confirmed the statement of the Chairman:—

He had conversed with several of the gentlemen who were doing the largest business in the country trade, and with shipping houses, that visited this market; and, one and all, they said they never had so bad a spring trade. For eight months and a half they might be said to have had no business, and were waiting in fond hopes that the passing of these measures by Government would liberate corn from the bonded warehouses, and afford the means of paying for goods, till which there could be no prospect of improvement. Indeed, unless something of that kind was done, he was persuaded that the fears of the Chairman were within the mark, and they should have a degree of excitement that would act upon the House of Lords.

Mr. Ashworth said:—

He believed they were most of them willing to defer the political government of the country to the hands of those in whom it had been vested, *so long as they might be willing to derive from the country a practical acquaintance with its opinions, and to be guided in legislating by the result of those practical opinions;* but when those who opposed these measures refused to receive the opinions of practical men, when they met together to co-operate against the interest of every class of society, it behoved them to consider in what way we should deal with such an obstructive body, if they persevered in the course they had been taking.

After an address from Mr. Brooks, it was agreed to forward a petition to the House of Lords, praying for the speedy passing of the measures; the petition to be forwarded to the Duke of Wellington for presentation.

On Wednesday the town council of Salford agreed to a petition to the House of Lords, praying against the countenance of a monopoly by which the public mind is insulted, trade paralysed, and general discontent created. On Friday the Manchester Commercial Association adopted a similar petition.

Accouchement of Her Majesty.—On Monday afternoon, at five minutes before three o'clock, the Queen was safely delivered of a princess. In the room with her Majesty were Prince Albert, Dr. Locock, and Mrs. Lilly, the monthly nurse; and in the rooms adjoining were the other medical attendants, Sir James Clark and Dr. Fergusson, and also the Duchess of Kent, the Lady in Waiting on the Queen, and the ministers and officers of State summoned on the occasion. The bulletin issued by the medical attendants, announces that her Majesty and the infant princess are well.

The Whig Peers and the Corn Bill.—On Saturday there was a meeting at Lansdowne-house, at which not less than sixty Whig peers were present, including Lord Melbourne and Lord Fitzwilliam. The leading members of the party in the House of Commons attended also. The result was most satisfactory. There were not wanting some who, as we have always done while a compromise was possible, avowed their preference for a fixed duty on the principle of revenue; but it was felt that the opportunity for such a settlement was past, and it was unanimously resolved that they should not waste their energies in attempting to attain that which was now beyond their reach, but promote vigorously and cordially the success of the bill in the very form in which it had been received from the Commons. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the importance of this decision. Without it, the Corn Bill might have been, not indeed rejected, but so mutilated as to have insured its rejection by the House of Commons; with the firm support of the Whig peers it may be considered beyond the reach of danger.—*Times.*—The *Standard* of Thursday says:—"The number of peers actually pledged against the Corn Bill is said to be 170; these, it is confidently expected, will be reinforced to about 210. The number believed to be committed to the minister is stated at 156; ten of the bishops, we regret to say, are included in this number. A greater number of the right reverend lords, however, will certainly oppose the bill; the opinions, or rather, the probable votes, of five or six prelates, are still unknown."

We believe that the marriage of Mr. Gore Langton and Lade Anna Eliza Grenville, only daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, is to take place this week. We are informed that immediately after the solemnisation the happy couple will leave England for a short time.—*Times.*

Earl Delawarr, having declared his intention to oppose the second reading of the Corn Bill in the House of Lords, has resigned the situation of Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's Household.

Rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet have been rife, and more especially of a split on the sugar question, in which Sir Robert Peel has the worst of it, Mr. Gladstone and a majority of his colleagues refusing to march so fast as the Premier. The "end" is drawing nigh.

Society for the Improvement of the Labouring Classes.—On Friday the second annual meeting of the above society took place at the Hanover-square rooms. The right hon. Lord Ashley was, at two o'clock, called to the chair, and was supported by the Bishop of Chester, the Bishop of Norwich, Lord Dudley Stuart, Colonel Sir D. Mackworth, Bart., Colonel Lindsay, the Rev. Thomas Dale, the Hon. W. Noel, J. Dean Paul, Esq., H. Roberts, &c., &c. The chairman opened the business by reading a letter from his Royal Highness Prince Albert, in reply to the application of the society to honour the meeting with his presence, expressive of regret at his inability to do so, but enclosing a cheque for £100. The noble lord at some length dwelt upon the advantage which had already resulted from the formation of the society, and adverted to the horrible abodes of filth into which the poor were entrapped by the threepenny lodging system. The secretary read the report, which set forth that the houses which had been built in the neighbourhood of the Bagniggewells-road had fully answered the expectations of the society, and were inhabited by poor though respectable artisans. Similar buildings were about to be erected in the vicinity of St. Giles's. The whole of the funds of the society had been expended in the erection of these buildings, but within the last few days they had received a contribution of £100 from the Bishop of London, £100 from Samuel Gurney, Esq., of Norwich; the Bishop of Norwich £20, and other smaller sums.

A deputation on the subject of capital punishments had an interview with Sir Robert Peel on Wednesday.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

JAMAICA.

(From our own Correspondent.)

Flint River Post-office, Jamaica, April 15th, 1846.

The American captain, Frisby, of whom I wrote in my last, was removed to Spanish Town, and bailed to appear for trial in August, much against the wishes of the Attorney-general. The amount of bail is very small, £500 for himself and £500 for another. He has now left the country and gone to America; I never expect he will be seen here again. Many reports are afloat in his favour, but time only will disclose whether he be a most nefarious, or injured man.

The immigration of Hill Coolies still proceeds, and cargoes of these unfortunates are being landed at various ports. The planters are delighted—the labourers laugh—the disinterested parties, such as storekeepers and others who have nothing to do with the system, are confident of its failure; all are grumbling at the taxation, and the population are disgusted at the nakedness and filth of these new comers. A very sensible black man told me the other day, that he and his wife went to an estate on purpose to see the Coolies, and judge for themselves. He told me what he saw, and it is not fit for publication. Complaints of all kind are increasing, and by the time the first £100,000 are spent, Jamaica will have purchased a due proportion of mendicants, thieves, hospital patients, vice, and misery, which, of course, will be very satisfactory to the tax-payers.

The drought has continued for a very lengthened period. Showers have been enjoyed during the last week in some parts, and there are symptoms of a delightful change of weather. The effects of the dry weather are very sad. The crops in some parts are ruined, the cane-pieces presenting the appearance of stunted burnt-up grass; the provisions of the labourers, especially in St. Ann's and Clarendon, have failed, and the effects of this calamity will be very disastrous. Thousands have to walk six, eight, and ten miles to procure water, and those who cannot walk so far satisfy the dreadful cravings of thirst by sucking the juice out of the plantain-roots. In some parts a third of the stock is dead, and, if the drought continue much longer, one-half will be lost. It may also be expected that much sickness will follow, from drinking bad water and eating half-cooked or raw provisions; and, when the rainy season succeeds, agues and dysentery follow. Under these circumstances, the labouring population are in a very pitiable condition, trade declines, and the lowness of wages, with the excess of taxation, presses heavily upon them. It is true that the planter suffers much, but he lacks not the *necessaries* of life, and a good season will make up his losses. It is otherwise with the labourer. He suffers physically from bad and scanty food—bad lodging, being unable to build or finish his house—bad clothing—want of medical attendance; and his children suffer not only physically, but morally, not being sent to the schools. The fact is that poverty, owing to the causes above alluded to, debases the parents, injures the health if not destroys the life of their children, shuts up the schools, overburdens the missionaries with debts and troubles, increases crimes, and stops the progress of liberty. The picture I have drawn is not exaggerated—it is not sufficiently accurate to the life—the limits of a letter suffice not to give the fillings-up of the outline; but it is the opinion of many that a decline is taking place in the prosperity—I mean the moral prosperity—of the people. Crime does not appear to be increasing, but selfishness and irreligion. While this is the case, the enemies of emancipation and freedom can make, and are making unopposed, great efforts. The election law has been altered, though not so much as was designed—immigration proceeds—the Established Church (I am wrong; it is not established in this island; it is only the State-supported church) has received increased favours, and there has been a most determined attempt to destroy the corporation of Kingston. The mass of the people are unfitted to stand up for their political rights—they are ignorant of them, and of their importance—they do not seem either to remember or value the many lessons they have received—and they are becoming so engrossed in their secular pursuits, as very listlessly to listen to those who urge them to the performance of their political duties. For one example, out of many, to illustrate this position, I will mention the case of freeholders, who will not for years—five or six, or more years—will not record their titles. And again, when they have recorded them, hardly anything can persuade them to claim their votes in the vestry office, though it is the easiest mode that can be thought of. It is very disheartening, after years of labour in the effort to enlighten, arouse, and excite the people to a sense of their real position, to find that the progress made is hardly perceptible. Yet, if the truth must be told—so it is. How important, then, that Jamaica should still have the sympathy and assistance of England. The trial of emancipation is going on—seven years have just elapsed, and England seems to think it must now be left to itself. This is a delusion. The excitement of the first years maintained it—now is the time of trial; and, unless care and attention be rendered, a collapse will follow. Education, religion, and freedom will diminish; while priestcraft, oppression, ignorance, and superstition will maintain their hold in spite of freedom's friends. The latter have had a time to gain an advantage: that time is rapidly passing away, and exactly as they use the remnant that is left will their cause fail or flourish. Nothing could be more disastrous at the present time than the step which the Missionary Societies have taken. They have entirely withdrawn all connexion with the churches and missionaries (I speak of the Baptist and Independent, and, I believe, there is some withdrawal of help from the Wesleyan missions). Protests of the most solemn and positive character have been sent home, but remonstrance seems vain with the Committees. No doubt an appeal will be made to the British Christian public, as a last resource if needful; for, without doubt, the ruin of the missions in this land is sealed if England refuses to be associated with them. I suppose these last few lines will surprise you; if so, you had better acquaint yourself with the whole case, and step forward to the rescue, for I cannot say more, and am not quite sure whether I have a right to say so much, for the time is not yet ripe. Feeling, however, that not much good can be done by silence, and that much may be done by giving a slight note of warning, I have ventured upon the above remarks.

The aspect of affairs in this country is at the present time somewhat perplexing and alarming, and a calm examination and inquiry into the present state of the colony would prove of much benefit. My own opinion is, that whatever is now doing for the political and moral good of the country is badly done, because only half done. Cheapness is the object, and it defeats itself, being in the end fruitless. The Missionary Societies are now destroying what has cost them so much to build up, and for want of doing things systematically and well, much outlay has been quite lost. I could very easily prove both these propositions. But why? England seems to have abandoned us to our fate—a fate that will soon involve us in confusion and distress.

One fact deserves your attention. The magistrates in two parishes have designedly swamped the Liberal party in the vestries, and it is evident that this is the universal intention. The vestrymen, though unanimously agreed upon a resolution, have been outvoted by magistrates. Is this legal? If so, there is no chance for us in the vestries.

UNITED STATES.

The Great Western arrived at Liverpool on Thursday. The news from Washington brought by this arrival is altogether unimportant in so far as the proceedings of the Senate or the House of Representatives are concerned. The New York *Courier and Inquirer* states, that "the notice on the Oregon question was sent to the British Government by the Caledonia; but it was not known whether or not it was accompanied by any friendly overture."

It was said to be the design of the Administration party in Congress, to adjourn from the last of May to the 1st of October, for the purpose of getting rid of the Senate during the pending of the negotiations, which are expected to be resumed, on the Oregon question, on the ground, that the presence of the Senate pending negotiation would be an embarrassment to the President. The defeat of the plan was considered certain.

The state of relations with Mexico was exciting considerable attention at New York. A telegraphic communication from Washington, just as the Great Western was about to sail, brought intelligence from Matamoras to the effect, that a *rencontre* had taken place between a party of Mexicans and a few men belonging to the American camp, in which the latter were killed. The United States army of occupation in Texas was said to be 3,000 strong; the Mexican force 4,000. The Washington correspondent of the *Courier and Inquirer*, writing on the 4th May, says:—"There is much uneasiness felt here for the safety of our army on the Rio Grande. The force under General Taylor is not only much less than that of the Mexicans in its neighbourhood, but, with the exception of Colonel Twiggs' regiment of dragoons, and the Flying Artillery corps, the rank and file is not of an efficient reliable character. I do not question the gallantry and ability of the commanding general, or of any other officer; but the men under their command are mostly miserable drones, who went into the army as a lazy peace establishment, affording an opportunity for the indulgence of their idle propensities. There are nine-tenths of them dissolute and vagabond foreigners, taken from the purlieus of our cities, without physical ability and without pride, an essential moral aliment in the constitution of a good soldier."

The seat of Paredes is likely to be soon invaded by one or two rival aspirants for the supreme authority in Mexico. Both Santa Anna and Gen. Almonte are said to be waiting their opportunity to return from the Havannah, and endeavour to secure, each for himself, the office of President.

INDIA.

The contents of the Bombay mail of the 15th April, which arrived on the 20th inst., are not of much importance. The *Times* gives the following summary of the news:—

"Tranquillity prevailed throughout India. The hot season had commenced, and the armies had taken up their permanent stations until the season for campaigning opens again in October. The affairs of the Punjaub remain in the same unsettled state. The city of Lahore was in possession of the division commanded by the British general, and the Sikh soldiers who were found within the walls were ordered to quit instantly. An idea existed of the disbanded Sikhs having contemplated an insurrection similar to that of Cabul, but the utmost vigilance prevails, and no danger is apprehended in a well-guarded place within fifty miles of the British territory. The intrigues of Gholab Singh, which have raised him to the grade of a Maharajah, and placed him on the musnud (throne) of the Kohistan of the Punjaub, are highly unpalatable to the Durbar and Wuzeer of Lahore, as well as to the disbanded Khalsas. The former find themselves outwitted; the latter are indignant at their defeat, yet they cannot trust either the Government, for the Queen-mother betrayed them as much as Gholab Singh did her cause. The Lahore Government is endeavouring to raise a body of troops from amongst the disbanded Khalsas; while the new sovereign of Jamoo is also strengthening his position. A fertile source of quarrel subsists in the regulation of the frontiers between the new Rajah of the hill country and the young one of the plains, Dhuleep. It will require the most guarded attention on the part of the British to prevent an outbreak between parties who hate each other with such intensity."

The *Morning Chronicle* says, "The Governor-general is said to contemplate the raising of at least two Sikh corps; and if these be not found sufficient to afford an outlet for the surplus valour of the nation, or rather sect, a further extension of the system will, no doubt, take place."

The newly-acquired district, which is called the Doab, that is, "situated between the two rivers," viz., the Beas and the Sutlej, was undergoing a strict examination, and different places were selected for cantonments for the British troops. Jullander is the chief town, and there the principal part of the troops are to be stationed. The fertility of this district is highly praised, and the inhabitants, heartily tired of the oppressions of the Sikhs, are delighted at becoming subjects to the British, from whom they expect justice.

The Governor-general has gone towards Simla, from which place he will be able, with ease, to watch the progress of events. The Commander-in-chief accompanied him to Umritsir, and thence returned to Lahore. He had since entered the British territory at Nuggur Ghat.

Scinde is profoundly quiet, and it is also healthy. Sir Charles Napier was coming down the Sutlej and Indus to Kurrachee, where he is expected to spend the monsoon. His health was impaired. The military positions in Scinde were occupied altogether by the Bombay regiments, all the Bengal troops having gone to strengthen the army in the north-west provinces.

The news of the late campaign between the Sikhs and the British appears to have excited the notorious Akhbar Khan into attempting some operations against Peshawur, but the rapidity of the defeats experienced by the Sikhs and the occupation of Lahore have neutralised his movements. The freebooters of the Khyber Pass were also engaged in conflicts with their neighbours, and all the effects produced by the Affghans were, as far as we have heard, to create some trifling intrigues against the Governor of Peshawur, which has ended in nothing.

The attention of the public was attracted to the railways which were about to be formed from Calcutta and Bombay into the interior of the country, and from which the greatest public benefit was anticipated.

Great scarcity of water existed in different places, and the cholera was raging in others.

The edict of the Emperor proclaiming, as is already known, liberty of conscience in China, with these important additions—the restitution of the Catholic churches and the punishment of rebellious mandarins, &c., was published in Canton on the 18th of March.

TAHITI.

The French whaler Gretry, which arrived at Havre on the 21st inst., brought news from Tahiti of the 13th of January last. Contrary winds had prevented her from reaching Papeiti, and she had been obliged to stop at Borabora, one of the leward islands, in which Queen Pomare had sought refuge. Borabora being fifty leagues distant from Tahiti, the captain of the Gretry was unable to procure any detailed information respecting the seat of the French establishments in Oceania, but where he understood Captain Bruat had still to contend against undiminished difficulties. He had lately sent the frigate Uranie and the steamer Phaeton to reduce the small island of Huahine. These vessels were thence to proceed on a similar expedition to Borabora, the population of which was extremely hostile to the French. Four small schooners, bearing the flag of Queen Pomare, with several missionaries on board, had arrived at Borabora on the eve of the departure of the Gretry. If the island were attacked, it was supposed these vessels would act in her defence.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

General Narvaez has at length accepted the appointment of Spanish ambassador at Naples.

Important from Dresden.—An official notification has been received from Berlin, that all further discussion respecting the German Customs Union (Zollverein) will be postponed until the decision of the British Parliament on the repeal of the corn-laws and the new commercial tariff be known.

The Trial of Lecomte, the regicide, is to commence at Paris on the 20th instant. On that day M. Franc Carré will read the act of accusation before the Court of Peers. The trial is not expected to be a long one, as from the investigation already made it is evident that he had no accomplice. It is thought probable that judgment will be given on the evening of Wednesday the 27th.

The River Plate.—Mercantile accounts from Monte Video, to the 6th March, received *viâ* Pernambuco, announce the important intelligence that the Buenos Ayrean force, under Urquiza, had been compelled to retreat in disorder from the province of Corrientes, with loss of horses and baggage, before the combined army of Corrientes and Paraguay, under General Paz. The official despatches received from that chief express an anticipation that the dictator's force would be completely dispersed.

The Polish Exiles.—A despatch is said to have been received in Paris from Vienna, dated the 18th of April, calling on the Government to banish the Polish exiles, or confine them to some particular department; a requisition with which M. Guizot has declined to comply. On the other hand, he has protested against any violation by the three Powers of that part of the treaty of Vienna which assured the independence of Cracow.

The Cholera.—The journals of Eastern Prussia state that the cholera has made its appearance at St. Petersburg.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania has passed an act authorising a number of the counties in the state, agreeing to their petition, to decide at the polls the question whether distilled liquors shall be sold within their limits.—[This is not exactly according to the law of liberty. It is one thing to abstain from, and another forcibly to prevent others consuming, distilled liquors.]

A Small Favour.—The gossip Rumour says that, in one of her letters to her imperial husband, the Empress of Russia wrote as follows:—"Since we have been married I have never asked you for anything; to-day I have a favour to demand, you will not surely refuse me; my health, perhaps my life, depend upon it—make me a present of Sicily." The monthly expenditure of the Empress and her court, during her stay in Italy, which she has now left, is estimated at 1,000,000f.

The King of Sardinia and Free-trade.—Rumours reached this country, some days back, of a new movement towards freedom in Italy, favoured by King Charles Albert of Sardinia. It was regarded as the echo of rumours long ago current respecting the same monarch, even while he was Prince of Carignan. This week, however, the *Journal des Débats* gives authenticity to the reports, and thus renders them worthy of attention. About two years ago, we believe the Abbate Gioberti, and after him Count Cesare Balbo, published books, in which, while deprecating the revolutionary movements that have so often disturbed Italy, the writers plainly called for the independence of that country, and indicated Charles Albert as the fit person for its head. So far from being exiled, both were undisturbed; and the ount has been well received at Court. Some manifestations of a similar spirit lately took place at Genoa; where, according to report, the people called out, "Long live Charles Albert, King of Italy!" The Austrian ambassador demanded some kind of satisfaction from the count at Piedmont, but did not receive it. Without alluding in terms to these events, the *Journal des Débats* relates the sequel. The Austrian Government of Milan maliciously issued a decree, on the 20th of April, raising the duties on Piedmontese wines from 9 livres 7 soldi the hectolitre to 21 livres 7 soldi; a duty which was prohibitory. Instead of directly retaliating, the Sardinian Government lowered its own duties on French wines and sugars—"having reference to the treaty concluded with France, and desiring far more closely to bind the commercial relations between the two countries." This proceeding, although the Legitimist *Quotidienne* laboriously endeavours to make light of it, is more important than on the surface it might seem: any political change in Italy, to be effectual, must be made with the concurrence of France; whose aid, overt or tacit, cannot be done without.—*Spectator.*

The South Pacific Press.—The second number of the *Samoan Reporter*, a semi-annual publication, has this week been received by a resident in this district, and courteously transmitted to our office. It is a neat, well-printed journal, extending to four demy folio pages; and the "press-work" (the imprint informs us) "is executed entirely by native workmen. The editor announces the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Pritchard (in which he rejoices), and of two or three Catholic missionaries (over which he mourns). He gives a long narrative of "the first missionary voyage of the John Williams to the New Hebrides and New Caledonia groups," including an account of the "massacre of sandal-wood crews," of which we last week published an abstract. The traders in sandal-wood are described as no less barbarous than the unreclaimed savages.—*Gateshead Observer.*

The Free-trade Measure and Agriculture.—Occasional notices have appeared of late of farms out of lease being let at an advance of rent; but we have now to announce, perhaps, the most remarkable instance of the late improvements in agriculture, and the expectations entertained of its continuance on the part of the tenantry, in the case of the large and fine farm of Mains of Elcho. This farm, the property of the Earl of Wemyss, is situated on the banks of the Tay, about four miles below Perth. The lease, which had just expired, was one of nineteen years; and, at an average of the fiars prices for that period, the rent has been about £600 per annum. At the same average, the new rent, which is to be partly money and partly grain, will reach nearly to £1,000; to be paid by no inexperienced and rash farmer, but by one of the oldest and most successful agricultural families in the country. —*Perth Courier.* [The Earl of Wemyss is grandfather of Mr. Charteris, who lost his seat for East Gloucestershire in consequence of his free-trade conversion.]

Joseph Ady, who finds fortunes for every one "on receipt of twenty shillings," has got into trouble again. He was charged at the Thames police-office, on Thursday, with fraudulently obtaining sixty postage-stamps from Mr. Samuel Smith Hill, under pretence of affording him information "to his advantage." The prosecutor had been cautious enough to obtain a regular receipt from Ady before he sent him the stamps: the advantageous information was never forthcoming. The investigation was a very mirthful affair, the various documents written by the prisoner being so full of cool impudence. He was remanded for a week; the magistrate, Mr. Broderip, stating that he should commit him for trial; but he made that delay in order that other dupes might appear against Ady if they chose.

Joseph Mason, the Returned Convict, is now employed at the York railway station, a situation having been provided for him there, through the kindness of G. Hudson, Esq., M.P. Sir James Graham has conferred a gratuity of £25 upon Mason, as a small token of the unfortunate misapprehension under which he suffered.

The Duke of Wellington was placed in some danger on Wednesday, by the recklessness of the driver of a private "brougham." His Grace was crossing Piccadilly, near Hyde-park-corner, when the carriage dashed past at a very rapid rate, and so close to the Duke, that in all probability he would have been knocked down, had not a gentleman pulled him back; the shaft of the carriage appeared to touch his chest.

The late Assassination in Drury Lane.—On Thursday night Mr. Bedford concluded the adjourned inquest at the George, Carey-street, upon the body of the unfortunate man Blewitt; when Louisa Cook, who had been brought from St. Giles's workhouse, proved upon oath her previous statement, which has already appeared. The jury, after some deliberation, returned a verdict of "manslaughter against John Graham."

METROPOLITAN COMPLETE SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The second anniversary meeting of this association was held on Wednesday evening, May 20th, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. There was rather a numerous attendance, including several ladies. The president, William Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P., occupied the chair.

The Chairman said: It is now about five years since I was called upon by the Complete Suffrage Association of Birmingham to advocate this question in Parliament. From circumstances which we could not control, there was not that union among the people, and that temperance of language and action among a part of those who were attached to our principles, necessary to the acquirement of that moral force by which alone great constitutional changes can be effected. The numerous petitions I presented to the House of Commons, declaring that it did not represent the people, were never rejected by that House, from a consciousness of their truth; and those petitions are a standing record upon the books of the House of the people's opinions. Nor have their exertions been useless in producing important changes. The income tax, however vexatious in its details, involves the principle of taxing property instead of food. The welfare of the masses, not the interest of a class, is now avowed by our statesmen to be the object of their legislation. (The Chairman here referred to the declaration of Sir R. Peel, that he considered the Corn-laws not merely inexpedient, but unjust, and read extracts from the speeches of Messrs. D'Israeli and Miles.) All this is encouraging. But the people must trust neither to Whigs nor Tories [hear, hear]. However they may improve legislation in some respects, they will never have any security that their rights will be fairly regarded but in self-government. Knowledge is power; and, whenever the people obtain knowledge, power cannot be withheld from them. I will only further assure you that no efforts of mine to advance this great question shall be wanting [loud cheers].

Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., of Liverpool, proposed the first resolution—

That the House of Commons, as at present constituted, does not reflect the public mind: that, on the contrary, the acts of the Parliament and the prayers of the people are often in direct antagonism; that the general course of legislation is directed, unmistakeably, to the furtherance of aristocratic ends and purposes; and that the only safe and adequate remedy is to be found in a "full, fair, and free representation of the people."

He contended that Complete Suffrage principles, being morally right, could not be politically wrong. Experience had not proved the extension of the suffrage to be inexpedient. They had been taunted with the recent proceedings in the American Congress; but he would ask whether ignorance and pauperism were so prevalent in the United States as in some parts of England and Ireland. The Legislature of that country had unfortunately followed the errors of the old world, in taxing articles of consumption, and in mortgaging the sinews of their children to pay the debts which they have contracted, which he held to be a great wickedness; but universal suffrage contained in itself the remedy for these evils. He hoped the friends of Complete Suffrage would follow the example of the Anti-corn-law League.

Dr. Epps felt much pleasure in seconding the resolution. The first proposition contained in this resolution is tolerably well understood—that the House of Commons does not reflect the public mind. It would be a curious thing if we had a looking-glass in our houses, and, when we went to look in it, found that it reflected not our own, but some other person's, face. We should think it had been made for an improper purpose. I fear, in the great looking-glass meant to reflect the popular mind, there is something equally wrong in the construction. We are told that every man is bound to know the law and obey it, as he has a voice in making it by his representative. It follows, therefore, that we should be able to discover our likeness in the great looking-glass at St. Stephen's. But I think, if we went down to that very respectable place, we should find some difficulty in recognising our features. I have great pleasure in recognising my own there, because some of us here (and I am one) have the pleasure of being represented by Thomas Duncombe and Thomas Wakley [cheers]—men who have enough mercury in them to enable us to see our features reflected. But if the great mass of the people were to examine the great national looking-glass, they would not discover a reflection of their minds. We are told, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" but when we go down to the great national looking-glass, we see a number of bishops and deans, and gentlemen with women's garments upon them [laughter], having written upon their banners, not that beautiful doctrine, but this—"For eight millions a year, paid to the state-church, we will give you a thirty-nine-article-creed teaching, a liturgical show, and a consecrated burial" [laughter and cheers]. The resolution next says "that, on the contrary, the acts of the Parliament and the prayers of the people are frequently in direct antagonism." There is no question either of this. At this season of the year there are numerous meetings for spreading the truths of Christianity in different parts of the world. Well, when you have sent out men upon the voluntary principle, and they have brought the human soil into a state of cultivation—made it fit to produce a tithe—immediately a very respectable gentleman, educated at Oxford, Cambridge, or Trinity College, Dublin, and has been made, by some most extraordinary manufacturing process, a properly constituted clergyman, is sent over to reap that tithe. Most of us are aware that it is not the most effectual way of letting truth into a man's mind by driving a hole through his body; but when we go to this grand representative looking-glass to discover the beautiful and simple features of "peace on earth and good-will towards men," we see some ten thousand British subjects, and as many unfortunate people belonging to another nation, called Sikhs, embracing each other in death, who had been struggling in life; and we see pensions and honours given to Hardinge and Gough; whereas, if the national mirror reflected the national mind, they would be given to our Oberlins and Wilderspins [cheers]. We want a new looking-glass—one made with democratic, [not aristocratic, mercury. If we spread our principles as we ought to do, there cannot be the slightest question that, if we live twenty years, we look and say, "In 1846, the parliament did not represent the public mind; now, it does." This is an object that every man should have deeply at heart [applause].

Mr. John Burnet, Independent minister, on rising to move the second resolution, was very loudly cheered. He said: Many in the House of which you, sir, are an honourable member, wish for a monopoly of politics. I think we ought to meddle with politics—not because we have a right to do so, but because we are wrong if we do not. It is not left to us as a matter of choice, but it devolves upon us as a solemn duty. Some say, that each one should pursue his own course independently; that great bodies of men, politically constituted, are entrusted with public affairs, and that each individual should mind his own. I should like to reduce the man who thus puts selfishness for independency to the proper result of his claim. I would direct him, in the first place, to find a coat for himself. He must be a shepherd and an agriculturist, in order to rear the sheep that is to produce the wool—a miner, smelter, and blacksmith, to make the scissors with which to clip the wool—a wool-comber, dyer, and weaver, to manufacture the cloth—and, to finish all, a tailor, to make the coat before he can wear it. He must build and furnish his own house—be his own architect, bricklayer, and even hodman—his own plaisterer and painter, paper hanger and cabinet maker—be "Jack of all trades and master of none"—live and die alone; and, even then, as he cannot be his own undertaker [laughter], and nobody must touch him, his body may be devoured by the beasts, and his bones form a monument to "the man who gloried in his independency." If I am in society for one purpose I must be in it for all purposes. There must be social expense as well as individual expense; and this social expense must be borne, and the application of it attended to, by all the members of society. This is understood and acted upon by every club in the kingdom, except that great club to which you, sir, belong; and I do not see why that club should be an exception [cheers]. Society and its offspring should not be unlike. My resolution says:—

That, in the opinion of this meeting, the principles of Complete Suffrage are the best adapted to secure the ends contemplated by the preceding resolution; that they are in perfect harmony with the spirit of the British constitution, founded in common sense and in right, and illustrate that beautiful sentiment of New Testament scripture, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them;" that, under their operation, the unholy alliance of religion with the secular power could not long be maintained, sanguinary conquests of arms would give place to the peaceful triumphs of the arts, the commercial intercourse and harmony of the nations of the earth would be cherished and secured, and a "strong," because good and equitable, government, established on a permanent basis, would be placed over this great and enlightened country.

What is the spirit of the British constitution? You ascertain the spirit of a man by observing his actions; and I observe that the British constitution has been mending itself from time to time. We are often told that the British constitution has arisen out of history, belongs to history, has accommodated itself to events as they have accumulated upon its path, and that such a constitution is worth a thousand theories. I grant all this, and I say complete suffrage is just the further reform the constitution wants, for its spirit is progressive [cheers]. The resolution next tells us that these principles are founded in common sense—the best sense of all—that to which we can all appeal—that like the common atmosphere spreads its healthful influence over all. And the demands of common sense are the demands of right. We have a right to everything for which we pay. There is no man in the kingdom who does not pay, directly or indirectly, towards the expenses of the legislative body, and therefore has a right to control its proceedings—and he will demand that right, unless he be content to be a slave. Speaking of slaves reminds me there is a gentleman behind me who was once a slave (Mr. Frederick Douglas, who had shortly before entered the room in the company of G. Thompson, Esq.), but is not so now [cheers], for, low as our constitution is, he who touches our shores ceases to be a slave. Let us elevate all the grades of society till it forms a happy brotherhood, in which there shall be neither a tyrant nor a slave [loud cheers]. The resolution tells me further, that these principles "illustrate that beautiful sentiment of the New Testament scripture, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.'" This maxim is often quoted, but little attended to. Exists there the man in the House of Commons who would like to accept the Chiltern Hundreds, lose his seat and his vote, so that he could not vote for his successor? If there is such a man, I think he would be as great a political curiosity as the period in which we live could possibly produce. He would rival, as a public show, General Tom Thumb himself [laughter]. Why, then, should any man in the House tell others they must occupy that position? The resolution further directs your attention to the fact that, under the operation of these principles, the "unholy alliance of religion with the secular power could not be maintained." To take a man's conscience into your House—to make it wider or narrower—make it large or small—make it receive this doctrine and reject that—why, it appears to me to be the most enormous infringement of the divine prerogative of which man can be guilty [cheers]. Mr. Burnet, after commenting upon the concluding sentiment of the resolution at considerable length, sat down amidst loud and repeated applause.

George Thompson, Esq., said: I am glad to declare my entire, cordial, and irrevocable adhesion to the prinples advocated by this association. I have long been of opinion, first, that it is right that those who support the state by taxation should be invested with the power of returning representatives to Parliament. I am equally convinced that it would be safe; that if this measure were practically accomplished and carried into effect, the result would be most satisfactory—satisfactory in consolidating the great classes of the people, and in inspiring them with that self-respect of which they must, to some extent, be destitute, while they feel themselves virtually proscribed, practically proclaimed disqualified and unfit to choose their representatives. An

effectual and salutary check would be given to the excesses of men in power, inasmuch as the people would then possess what they do not now—the power of mitigating their sufferings, lessening their burdens, and securing measures that would promote their own prosperity and peace with all nations. We are not to judge of the competency or incompetency of the people to exercise the elective franchise by any local or violent expression of feeling under that irritation and sense of injury which they must always have while shut out of the pale of the constitution. I am glad to identify myself still more closely with this movement by appearing here to-night. I am accompanied to this meeting by a gentleman from the other side of the Atlantic, of a different complexion from my own, but with the same blood in his veins, the same aspirations after liberty which we all cherish—aspirations so strong that it was not in the power of slavery to suppress them—aspirations so strong, that he escaped from the house of bondage, guided only by the north star. I want you to hear him, and by your reception of him to rebuke that false democracy which retards, most fatally, not to say injuriously, the progress of freedom; that puts an argument into the mouth of our opponents; that holds in one hand the declaration that all men are free and independent, and brandishes in the other the scourge and the slave-chain; that binds the victims of its cupidity and wrong to the horns of the republican altar [much cheering]. I want you to proclaim, that while the principle of democracy does not suffer in your estimation by their inconsistency, yet you do feel that a foul stain is cast upon the cause of political freedom throughout the world, by the enslavement of three millions of human beings in that land which should be the sanctuary of liberty [renewed cheering]. I trust that henceforth the progress of this great movement will not only be onward—for that it must be—but that its progress will be greatly accelerated. We shall speedily have a clearer stage on which to work, a freer people to whom to appeal; and our cause being just, and aided—as I trust we shall be—by the discreet, yet earnest co-operation of the working classee, we shall soon place this movement in a position which shall extort the admiration, if it does not secure the support, of all [loud applause]. We get good by engaging in these movements. The soul is expanded, exalted, and strengthened by grappling with difficulties, and the result is often a greater amount of individual good, and good for our country, than by the actual attainment of the object we proposed to ourselves at setting out [hear, hear]. Lay hold of this cause, then, for its sake, and for your own sake. Let those who have the franchise remember those who have it not. Let ours be the belief, that that which a man hath a right to, ought to be given to him. Then, when we have given it to him, having recognised his brotherhood and equality, he becomes our friend instead of our opponent. We have won our brother, when we have invested him with that which is his own—restored to him that of which he was deprived [loud and continued cheering].

W. H. Ashurst, Esq., briefly moved the third resolution—

That this meeting learns with pleasure that the Committee proposes, as early as possible, to obtain a permanent office, in the centre of the metropolis, for the transaction of the Society's affairs; to engage the services of a suitable gentleman as lecturer; and to publish and circulate tracts, with a view to the more general diffusion of the principles of the Society; and urges upon all Reformers to transmit to the treasurer (J. M. Webb, Esq.) such subscriptions or donations as they may be able to command, for the purpose of aiding the Committee in the work on which they have set their heart.

Mr. F. Douglass was warmly applauded on rising to second the motion. He said his struggles for personal liberty had left him little time to become acquainted with the principles of political freedom; and, had he had no illustration of them but what he had seen in America, he should have been indeed repugnant to them. But ignorant as he was—shut out as he had been from all those means of mental and moral improvement with which they were blessed—he was satisfied of the correctness of their principles. It seemed to him that, if he had just waked up into existence, just come into being, knew nothing of the past, had no power to look into the future, but was only able to understand the meaning of language, the truthfulness of their principles would at once strike him. They did themselves a great injustice to regard the United States as a democracy. Property was there the basis of representation; and a premium was put upon slaveholding by giving three votes for every five slaves. Governor Duffy, of South Carolina, had declared that slaveholding was the corner-stone of the republican edifice.

Mr. Thompson wished the meeting to discriminate between slaveholding republicans and the noble, earnest, and increasing band of abolitionists.

Joseph Sturge, Esq., proposed the next resolution—

That this meeting rejoices that the Metropolitan Complete Suffrage Association repudiates the resort to other than peaceful, constitutional, and moral means for the attainment of its object; and cordially invites all sincere Chartists to join in an earnest, persevering, and, it is hoped, successful attempt to obtain for the principles of of "The People's Charter" a place in the statute-book of the realm.

He rejoiced in the contrast presented by that meeting to a former occasion, when he could not get a hearing; he then felt, on returning home, some of the selfishness of human nature, and half resolved to labour no more to obtain freedom for men who did not seem to desire it for themselves. He always regarded the principles of Complete Suffrage and the People's Charter as identical; he had only wished to deprive the Chartist movement of its physical-force character, holding as he did the inviolability of human life. He thought this question should have taken precedence of the Anti-corn-law movement; but the settlement of the latter would greatly advance the former. He could not understand how a man, free from prejudice, could advocate commercial, and not religious and political freedom.

Thomas Cooper, the Chartist poet, was received with repeated applause. He said: You know me well enough to believe me when I say, I never attended a meeting in my life with more pleasure than this. I have long looked for this day, but I did not expect it would come so soon. I am peculiarly pleased in being preceded by Joseph Sturge, whom I may now call my friend—peculiarly pleased that he has proposed a resolution embodying the peace principle, and offering the olive branch to that section of radical reformers called Chartists. The working men of England are attached to that term because they have suffered for it. It is sacred to us, and we cannot renounce it. I beg of you who belong to the class esteemed to be above us, to remember why we maintained physical force doctrines and violent opinions. I trust *I* may speak upon this matter, who have renounced them—not from any expectations of increased influence or profit—but after deep thought and patient investigation. We were driven to violence by deep suffering (several very painful instances of which Mr. Cooper related, as witnessed by him, chiefly at Leicester, in 1841-2). The working classes have seen the evils of physical force (cheers). They know it is only by union, by intelligence, by moral means, they can win their way. I would say to my complete suffrage friends, Let our differences be buried — let us resolve that henceforth we will be united [much cheering]. I will engage to bring this question before my own section of politicians. It matters not who opposes me. I depend upon the good sense of my fellow working men. If they have been deceived, they will be deceived no longer [cheers]. In future, I trust there will be no space left in your meetings, but that they will be filled with sincere Chartists [great applause].

The following was then proposed by G. Thompson, Esq., seconded by E. Clarke, Esq., and carried unanimously:—

That this meeting extends a cordial welcome to Mr. Frederick Douglass, whom they sincerely congratulate on his escape from the wrongs and horrors of American slavery; and would, at the same time, express their earnest hope that the time may soon come, when the blot brought upon the cause of political freedom, by the existence of slavery in a country professedly republican, will be wiped away; and the principle impartially recognised, that God hath created all men free and equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The Secretary stated that letters had been received from Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P., T. Duncombe, Esq., M.P., and Hon. E. Bouverie, M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., expressing sympathy with the objects of the meeting and their regret at being unable to attend. Mr. Miall and Dr. Price, although announced to address the meeting, were unexpectedly and unavoidably absent. A vote of thanks to the Chairman having been moved, seconded, and carried by acclamation, this animated and very encouraging meeting terminated.

University College Hospital.—Lord Brougham on City "Snobs."—The first stone of a new wing to the University College Hospital was laid on Wednesday, by Lord Brougham. The building will add fifty beds to the Hospital, and afford facilities for adopting improved arrangements for the admission and classification of special cases of disease. The Marquis of Northampton, Sir Edward Ryan, Sir I. L. Goldsmid, Treasurer of the University, Mr. Marshall, M.P., the Bishop of Norwich, Mr. Thornely, M.P., Mr. E. Romilly, the members of the Council, the Professors, and Mr. Ainger, the architect, witnessed the ceremony. The Bishop of Norwich offered up an impressive prayer. In the afternoon there was a dinner at the London Tavern; Lord Brougham presided. Dwarkanauth Tagore and some of the Hindoo students were among the company. The Chairman indulged in a philippic at the want of support experienced by the University from London citizens:—

He would say of his fellow-citizens, that they had wholly disappointed him. He expected, that when they found a University close at hand, at which their sons would be taught for £20 a-year each, and allowed to remain under their fathers' roof all the time, they would send them there instead of sending them to be corrupted at Oxford or Cambridge. He did not say there necessarily was corruption at Oxford or Cambridge; but there was greater security for them against corruption in their fathers' houses. He thought the plan would receive the approval of his fellow-citizens, and that they would send their children to that school; but no such thing. He wished to use no harsh or offensive expression; but he thought there was exhibited, on the part of those persons, a great deal of City vulgarity. He used the expression from the bottom of his heart, having tried to find another expression which would figure what he meant to convey. He could find no words that would express his meaning at all but 'vulgarity,' and 'City vulgarity.' He did not state this now for the first time, for he said it almost every time that he went to the University. He had constantly repeated the observation, and he believed with little effect. Instead of sending all their sons there for £20 each, to learn science and languages, classical literature, the *belles lettres*, natural philosophy, and mathematics, without which no man could be said to have an education—he would not say for a gentleman, but for a respectable tradesman—instead of doing this, they made up a purse of £300 or £400, pinching themselves very often to send one son—leaving the others to work and rust—to send one son to Oxford or Cambridge, simply because they found lords and bishops there.

The evening's subscription in aid of the building-fund amounted to £1,613. One of the Hindoo pupils carried off the gold medal at a recent medical examination!

The Tables Turned.—We are informed by a correspondent that the "Reverend" Michael Augustus Gathercole is again likely to be involved in the meshes of the law. This time, however, he appears as a defendant; Mr. Thomas Page, an honest gardener of Chatteris, having commenced an action against his spiritual guardian for a wanton defamation of character.

The lady of T. Ashton Smith, Esq., of Tilworth, near Marlborough, and one of the daughters of the late Sir Francis Burdett, are taking advantage of the water-cure at Sudbrook-park, near Richmond, Surrey.

The Wholesale Poisoning in Norfolk.—Government have sent down an officer to investigate this mysterious affair. The evidence at the inquest proved that four out of the five had been poisoned, and the probability of Balls intentionally administering it. In addition to these deaths, there were several other grandchildren of Balls, whose deaths were as sudden and as suspicious, and hence arises the supposition that if a strict inquiry were made respecting their fate, there would be found to have perished by similar means, within ten years, no fewer than twelve grandchildren of the deceased Jonathan Balls, eight belonging to his daughter Mrs. Green, and four to the other daughter. The inquiry was to commence on Monday.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE *NONCONFORMIST* AND THE JEWS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Sir,—In your number of last Wednesday, in a leading article, appeared the following:—"On Friday evening last Mr. D'Israeli complained that Sir Robert Peel was too irritable. This was after his own unmerciful castigation of him. Having imputed everything to him which a man of honour and intellect would least like to have imputed to him—having charged him with defrauding his opinions and deceiving his friends, with borrowing the good and originating the evil—having spoken of him as guilty of 'petty larcenies,' as carrying the doctrine of free-trade, about 'buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market,' into his treatment of party—as pursuing a course which was one great 'appropriation clause'—having done all this, and a great deal more, he said that Sir Robert was too irritable! Only a *Jew* could be capable of such cool impudence."

Having long regarded the articles in the *Nonconformist* as breathing the "spirit of liberality," and been pleased and benefited in the perusal of them, I was both surprised and grieved at the conclusion of the above paragraph in its columns, laying to the charge of one religious calling only, of those by whom you are surrounded, the capability of producing a being with *particular reprehensible qualities*. I am utterly at a loss to reconcile what admits only of *this* interpretation with that which previously has appeared, and which I have ever regarded as the fervent emanation of a kindly spirit towards all, and one which *could* not have put forth an assumption so general and apparently so ungenerous. "*Only a* Jew *could be capable of such cool impudence.*"

I know not where I should have looked for such a sentence! Had it been the *Standard* or the *Post*, a few angry feelings would have passed it over. Finding it where it *now* is, grief and surprise have taken the place of these, and, since I have read it, have had constant possession of my mind. I had pictured to myself the Editor of the *Nonconformist* as one whose mind was incapable of any but the grandest and broadest conclusions concerning his fellowmen. In spite of my efforts to the contrary, this *one* line places him before me as a being less perfect than I had conceived him, and I fear the gratification must be greatly modified, which I have hitherto felt in communing with his writings. It is not sufficient to put forth so general a condemnation; for the reasons must be strong which have led to it. In justice and fairness, I trust that you will make them public, as has been that condemnation. The anxiety with which I await them proves to *myself* how highly I have valued the source from which it comes; it seems as though I had lost a guide, whom I would fain have restored.

Waiting your insertion of this, and of your reply, in justice to the community to which I belong,

I am, Sir, yours,

May 24th, 1846. A Jew

[The expression was, we confess, an incautious one—and had it struck us as calculated to wound honest feeling, would, most assuredly, never have been used. The sensitiveness of our correspondent is natural; but, is it not, also, excessive? We employed the term, not in its theological—not even in its national—but in its conventional sense. Our thoughts glanced at the old-clothes man, and the dealer in "marine stores," rather than at the descendant of Abraham. We were aiming no reproach at a creed, nor at a nation, but at a character; and, in doing so, we used a term which we should no more have thought offensive than when we call a blunder an Irishism. We own, however, that our correspondent has the best right to say whether such a use of the word "Jew" is offensive or not. If so, we regret having, through inadvertence, adopted it.]

JOURNALISM IN FRANCE.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Tibberton-square, Islington, May 25, 1846.

Sir,—Directors and editors of reviews and newspapers cannot know all, and soundly judge of anything. They can be imposed upon, deceived, and misled; and this possibility is illustrated by the insertion, in the last number of the *British Quarterly Review*, of an article on "*Journalism in France*," and by the praise bestowed upon it by the *Nonconformist*.

The object of the writer is to glorify a portion of the French daily press, headed by the Bertins and the French Government, at the expense of the British press, and not only of the British Government, but also of the British public. This is in perfect keeping with the doctrinaire tactics, which consist in, constantly and everywhere, setting up that ruling *coterie* as the best models in everything. Degraded, universally despised in France, they contrive to raise apologists in foreign countries, and, by dint of misrepresentations, succeed in obtaining, abroad, a sort of compensation for the contempt and hatred with which they are deservedly visited at home.

We are inclined to believe that it is not designingly, but unwittingly, that the author of the article has lent himself to the doctrinaire policy; and as the greatest part of the article seems an abbreviate translation from the French, it would be unjust to make him accountable for the blunders and false statements that are found in every page; and some of which cannot be allowed to pass without contradiction.

The M.M. Bertin were not "the remarkable founders of the *Journal des Débats*, who first elevated journalism in France into a power in the State" (p. 476). The *Journal des Debats* was founded in 1789. Bertin the eldest, François, born in 1770, joined the paper in 1779; but, in the following year, being mixed up in a Royalist conspiracy, he was imprisoned in the Temple, and afterwards exiled to Elba, and shortly afterwards allowed to reside at Florence. This introduced the younger brother, Bertin de Vaux, into the paper; but his business as banker did not allow him to interfere much in the editing of the paper. This was done by M. Nicole, a man of profound science, ability, and taste, in languages and literature. "Geoffroy did" not "play an important part after the Restoration," for the very best causes—he died in 1814.

Far from being called *Journal de l'Empire* till 1805, and then taking the name of *Journal des Debats* (p. 480), the paper cast off its title of *Journal des Debats* in 1805, to take the name of *Journal de l'Empire*, which it preserved until after the downfall of Napoleon.

"Etienne was not named in 1810 one of the *higher* political writers of the *Journal des Débats*," p. 490; he was appointed *censor* of the paper, instead of Fiévré. The decline of the *Débats* was not "owing to a formidable competitor in the shape of a journal called the *Globe*," p. 485. The *Globe* was not a newspaper, but a philosophico-political periodical, started by Dubois and Geoffroy, and which in 1826 and 1827 had not 2,000 subscribers. The circulation of the *Débats* began declining at the Restoration, and continued to do, owing to the subserviency of the two Bertins, who had become sole proprietors, to their advocacy of the

most illiberal principles, to their ultra-royalist voilence, manifested not only in writings but in deeds; finally, to their religious fanatism, which obtained for the paper the *soubriquets* of *Journal des Rabats*, and *Journal des Prêtres*.

The co-operation of the pompous and amphygouric Salvandi, the present minister for public instruction, of whom the writer makes a loathsome panegyric, began in 1816, and was the result of a police transaction between Decaze and the author of the pamphlet, *La France et la Coalition*, which had been seized. The author wanted a situation; he abjured his professed principles, and rendered himself fit for contributing to the *Débats*. "There are few public men in France," says the writer, "who have more of the talent of the journalist than Narcisse Achille de Salvandy," p. 485. That was not the opinion of the Bertins themselves in 1826 and 1827, when they tried to dispense with his bombastic services; as to the opinion of the public, it is quite the reverse of that of the reviewer.

"The *Debats* was also enriched, shortly after the Revolution of 1830, by the letters and articles of Michel Chevalier," p. 488. Before the revolution of July, and during the three years which followed, Chevalier was with Enfantin the head of Saint-Simonism; that which the author indulgently calls "early freaks," was nothing less than the most abominable immorality, the destruction of Christianity, and the apropriation of other property. Chevalier, in June, 1833, was still, with Enfantin, suffering in prison the penalty inflicted upon them by the sentence of the royal court of Paris, when, on a sudden, he altered his mind, and exchanged his cell at St. Pelagie for a free-pardon, travelling expenses to America, and a place as correspondent on the staff of the *Debats*. That anything in extenuation, nay, even in praise of such a man should be found in a religious review, could never be anticipated by me; and I seriously invite the director of the *British Quarterly* to more caution in the reception of his articles. It is true that in another article* of the same number is found the following sentence:—"For our part, we see not how any man of sense can avoid doing many things in the social exercises of religion which he does not believe to be in accordance with the mind of Christ. He may believe that these things are such as Christ might *bear* † with, were he again on the earth; but no human authority would suffice to convince him that the author of Christianity could *approve* of them. Sure we are, that our own conscience has been thus submissive to the conscience of others, in a multitude of things, from our youth upwards, and we never expect it to be otherwise," p. 532.

I protest against such doctrines, whose application to religion, philosophy, and morals are destructive of Christ's unity, truth, and morality. In the appreciation of the man I have just exposed, my conscience will not be submissive to the conscience of the Bertins, who have adopted Chevalier as their own; or to the conscience of the corrupted and corrupting government which has made him a Counsellor of State and a Deputy: and while the writer in the *British Quarterly* constantly holds up the raising of such men to eminence in the state as an example for the British Government, we are happy to think, that in this intelligent and highly moral country such things would not be tolerated. Moreover, no British Administration, either Whig or Tory, could be bad enough to need the services of such men in their defence; and if any administration were so profligate and so unpopular as to be in need of that support, I am convinced that they would not obtain from English journalists what the successive ministries in France have obtained from the *Debats*, so long as the "independent and virtuous" Bertins received, as they continue to receive, 12,000f., £480, per month.

The writer is not more accurate in his account of all the other newspapers. He accumulates blunders on blunders, falsehoods on falsehoods, with a wonderful imperturbability. He says, p. 490, that Etienne "became a shareholder in the *Constitutionnel* after his celebrated *Lettres sur Paris*, in the *Minerva*, had been collected in a volume, and had gone through several editions;" while Etienne, already a writer in the *Constitutionnel*, bought one of the shares of his friend Ripot, in 1816; and in February, 1818, started the *Minerva*, in connexion with Aignan, Benjamin Constant, Jouy, Jay, Dumoulin, Ripot, Lacretelle, Norvins, and others.

Benjamin Constant never was the principal editor of the *Courrier Français*, and even never was a regular contributor to it. At the time mentioned—p. 493—the principal editor was Chatelain, and the principal contributor was Keratry.

The *Gazette* could not insert "the contributions" of Colnet from 1836 to 1837 (p. 494), since he died in 1832.

Marast did not conduct the *Constitutionnel* immediately after the death of Carrel in 1826: he was then an outlaw in England, and remained so till 1830. The paper was conducted by the principal proprietor, Bastide. Marast has been for some years and is still now the principal editor.

Hyde de Neurith did not during the Martignac administration, in which he was minister of Marine, support, by his writings, with Labourdonnaise and Delalot, the attacks of the *Quotidienne* against that administration.

I must drop my pen, Sir, for if I were to point out all the inaccuracies, the misstatements that fill every page, my letter would be as long as the article. I do not wonder at the approbation which too much confidence induced an honest and unsuspecting editor to bestow upon it. The pretentious, easy, flippant, authoritative style of the writer, seem to present all the symptoms of truth. But I have no doubt that you will not countenance the propagation of false and dangerous notions, from fear of giving offence to any one, whoever he may be.

"*Amicus Aristoteles, amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas.*"

I remain, with sincere regard, yours, &c.,
CONSTANT READER.

HOW TO TURN CHURCH-RATE SEIZURES TO ACCOUNT.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—Will you be kind enough to hand the accompanying contribution to the Treasurer of the British Anti-state-church Association. I have lately been called upon to contribute the same amount in church-rates and Easter offerings to the support of the state-church, and I think that, as a Dissenter, I cannot consistently do less to expose the evils of the whole system than I am obliged to do to support them. In future I intend to make the sum I am *compelled* to pay for state-church purposes the minimum of my *voluntary* contributions to aid efforts for uprooting that antichristian establishment. If you think this will serve as a useful hint to others "to do likewise," you are welcome to insert it in your paper. In those places in which church-rates are done away, perhaps some may feel that they ought not to appropriate to their own use what they thus avoid paying, but should rather contribute doubly, as a thank-offering to God to such societies as the British Anti-state-church Association. Yours,

May 20, 1846. J. L. P.

* "Dr. Whately and the Evangelical Alliance."
† The italics are not mine.

QUADRATURE OF THE CIRCLE.

LEGENDRE'S DEMONSTRATION.

The feeler put forth for a simpler demonstration than Legendre's, is delusive in the part which claims to determine the successive agreement of the digits in the values of the two polygons. The way to show it, is to make the greater number consist of any digit followed by a long succession of cyphers as for instance twenty, the other number being arranged so as to make the proportion as just as the number of digits and present knowledges will allow. In this case, the first digits will not agree, till after a longer course than the one assigned.

The evidence therefore falls back upon Legendre's demonstration, where it was before.

This however, as often happens in like cases, points to a clarification of the matter at issue. That the method of polygons is capable of determining the proportion within less than any assignable difference, is what may be trusted to demonstration. But for all that, it might be true that the proportion was terminable, and that the method of polygons would not terminate it; for the values of the successive circumscribing and inscribed polygons might refuse to coalesce upon the last digit, and might go on for ever, one a little over and the other a little under, so as never to arrive at the absolute termination. What stands opposed to this at present, is Legendre's demonstration.

GLEANINGS.

Though a man without money is poor, a man with nothing but money is still poorer.

CHURCHES AND CITIES.—The Vatican and St. Peter's cover precisely the same extent as Turin, a city of one hundred thousand inhabitants.

A SIMPLE METHOD OF PRESERVING THE GROWING CROP OF POTATOES FROM DISEASE.—Walk through your potatoes twice a week, and carefully pick off and carry away any of the leaves that have a rust-like spot on them. —A. C. L.

It is said that 17,000 sacks of saw-dust are annually consumed in London for stuffing dolls alone.

The people of Coventry and the neighbourhood have been completely swindled out of their money by a party of vagabonds, who announced a concert under royal patronage, tickets 5s. each, and just before the commencement, bolted with the receipts.

The *Gardeners' Chronicle* remarks that we may rely on being pestered with wasps this summer to a great extent. They have had a mild winter, and are already, in May, as vigorous as in June, and as plentiful as in July.

A lady, Mrs. Sarah G. Bagley, is to have charge of the magnetic telegraph at Lowell, so says the *Lowell Courier*. The long mooted question, "Can a woman keep a secret?" will now become more interesting than ever.

There is a metallic substance in the British Museum, weighing 15 cwt., which is said to have been a projection from some planetary body.

THE HOUSE OF PEEL.—The following passage occurs in the Rev. John Wesley's Journal, bearing date July 27, 1787:—"I was invited to breakfast, at Bury, by Mr. Peel, a calico printer, who, a few years ago, began with £500, and is now supposed to have £50,000."

A carrier's waggon was observed in Stamford the other day with a load consisting of gunpowder, oil of vitriol, and lucifer matches!

The Nation communicates the following important intelligence:—"We are now in the third week of the captivity of Smith O'Brien." People had almost forgotten it.

We vouch for the following:—A gardener's dog, who had watched his master at work, one showery day, when he saw him go into the cottage to eat his dinner, immediately set about imitating him, so that when he came out again he found *Leeks* (that was his name) *diligently planting cabbages!—Literary Gazette.*

Douglas Jerrold is (so runs rumour) "off" *Punch*. The presiding genius of this famous periodical is Mr. Thackeray, *alias* Michael Angelo Titmarsh.

JOY AND SORROW.—Sorrows, by being communicated, become less, and joys greater; sorrow, like a stream, loses itself in many channels, and joy, like a ray of the sun, reflects with a greater ardour and quickness when it rebounds upon a man from the breast of his friend.—*South.*

FEES TO RAILWAY BARRISTERS.—"A Looker-on," in writing to the *Times*, says that a leading counsel on a railway committee receives from 1,000 to 2,000 guineas for a "briefless 'get up' in a few hours' notice," and that, for his subsequent "peeps into the room," he is often refreshed at the rate (consultation inclusive) of fifteen guineas daily, as also his five or six juniors.

A letter has been recently received in Poole, from a lady in Port Adelaide, who states that servants are so scarce in that part that she pays her servant 16s. per week. One morning the woman came to her and informed her that she was about to leave; and on being asked the reason, she said that the wages were not enough—that she had been offered 5s. a-day by another person.

CLERICAL MUNIFICENCE. — The late Rev. Thomas Gisborne, M.A., canon of Durham, has directed his executors to apply the clear sum of £1,000 to religious and charitable purposes within the diocese of Durham.

TWO THINGS AT ONCE.—"I say, Paddy," said a philosopher, "can you be doing two things at the same time?" "Can't I?" answered Paddy, "I'll be doing that any day!" "How?" replied the philosopher. "Why," rejoined Paddy, "I'll be sleeping and draming too at the same time, don't you see? so none of your gammon for a spooney."

Somebody asked George Colman the difference between an attorney and a solicitor. "The same, I believe," said George, "as between a crocodile and an alligator."

LADY FREE-TRADERS.—The London correspondent of the *Freemason's Journal*, referring to the debate of Friday night and Saturday morning, in the House of Commons, observes: "The strangers' gallery continued crowded to the last, a rare occurrence in case of protracted debate; and, among those who might be seen to emerge from the lobbies at half-past four this (Saturday) morning, were several elegantly-dressed females—the ladies of members—whose pallid faces told that they, too, had sat out the long, but interesting discussion."

A large portion of the wood-carving for the new Houses of Parliament is effected by machinery, secured by recent patents granted to Messrs. Taylor, Williams, and Jordon. As many as half a dozen figures in alto-relief, or altogether round and free from background, may be carved with the nicest exactitude at the same time. Stone capitals of a complicated description and entanglement of foliage, are likewise cut with rapidity and precision.

A NEW PROPERTY IN SODA WATER.—A dealer in soda-water at Adelaide, South Australia, hearing burglars attempting to break into his premises, armed himself with some of his own merchandise; and, on the head of the first thief being visible, he fired the first shot, by cutting the string of a bottle of soda-water, which had the effect of causing the burglars to take to their heels. Of all its remedial properties, we never before supposed soda-water to be anti-felonious as well as anti-acid.

From a Parliamentary return just issued, it appears that the cotton manufactures exported in 1845 from the United Kingdom amounted to 1,091,686,069 yards, of the declared value of £18,029,808. In 1814 the quantity was only 192,340,825 yards, but the declared value was £16,480,750.

ASSOCIATION FOR CLEANLINESS. — Since the warm weather has set in the demands upon the gratuitous benefits of this institution in Glasshouse-yard have greatly increased. The daily number of those who bathe averages eighty, and of those who wash clothes about 140. On Saturday last there were no fewer than fifty-two engaged in the latter at one time. One of the great advantages of the Institution—to destitute females in particular—is, that after having bathed themselves, they are supplied with a temporary dress whilst they wash their own, and also with materials for mending, the soap and other materials being furnished free. Nearly 300 persons, inhabiting small tenements and rooms, have availed themselves of the gratuitous supply of whitewash given by the Association.—*Globe.*

BIRTHS.

May 8, the wife of Mr. TIMOTHY MOORE, Shakspeare's-walk, Shadwell, of a son.

May 19, at Sherborne, Dorset, the lady of B. CHANDLER, jun., Esq., of a son.

MARRIAGES.

May 14, in the Baptist chapel, Stockton, by Mr. W. Campbell, Mr. T. HAMER, Congregational minister, Barnard Castle, to Mrs. MERRYFIELD, of the former place.

May 17, at the Independent chapel, Cleckheaton, by Mr. J. Scott, ROBERT, son of Mr. R. GOLDTHORP, card maker, to MARTHA ANN, only daughter of Mr. B. HOLDSWORTH, flannel manufacturer, and granddaughter of the late J. CHADWICK, Esq., all of Cleckheaton.

May 18, at the Independent chapel, Grantham, by Mr. J. Barfett, Mr. JOHN TAYLOR, chair manufacturer, to Miss SARAH HAMMATT, both of Little Gonerby.

May 18, at Queen-street chapel, Leeds, by the pastor, Mr. Thomas Scales, Mr. GEORGE LINSLEY, pawnbroker, to EMMA, only surviving daughter of D. ROEBUCK, Esq., merchant, all of the above town.

May 18, at the Independent chapel, Castle-street, Great Torrington, Devon, by the pastor, Mr. James Buckpitt, Mr. WM. SMALE, tailor, to Miss JANE DOIDGE JAMES, both of Great Torrington.

May 19, at the Independent-chapel, Grantham, by Mr. J. Gilbert, of Nottingham, Mr. J. BARFETT, F.A.S., minister, to ANNE, widow of the late Edward JACKSON, Esq., of the North Parade, Grantham.

May 19, at Albion chapel, Moorgate, by the pastor, Mr. John Young, A.M., Mr. ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, civil engineer, to SARAH, eldest daughter of James LAUGHTON, Esq., of Mansell-street.

May 20, at Argyle chapel, Bath, by the pastor, Mr. Wm. Jay, Mr. HIBBERD, London City missionary, to Miss MARY ANN VALLINS, 3, Harley-street, Bath, daughter of the late Mr. Vallins, Dorchester, Dorset.

May 20, by license, at Richmond chapel, Manchester, by the pastor, Mr. D. E. Ford, HENRY, second son of the late Lee LEE, Esq., of Chorley, to HANNAH, eldest daughter of John DRACUP, Esq., of Salford. This being the first wedding in that new and beautiful building, a handsomely bound bible and hymn-book were presented to the bride and bridegroom.

May 23, at the Independent chapel, Barking, Essex, by Mr. Corney, Mr. JOSEPH FRAIZER to Miss ELIZABETH ANN GRAY.

DEATHS.

May 6, at Foleshill, Mrs. SPENCER, wife of Mr. William Spencer, of that place.

May 17, in his 38th year, at Myddelton-square, Pentonville, GILES FORWARD, minister of the gospel, late missionary at Berbice, and for some years pastor of the church of God at Erdington, near Birmingham.

May 18, THOMAS HANKS, the second son of Mr. J. M. STEVENS, minister of York-street chapel, Bath, aged one year and two months.

May 21, after two days' illness, at the residence of his parents, 24, Saville-place, Mile-end-road, Master THOMAS DEXTER, only surviving son of Mr. John Creed Dexter, in the twelfth year of his age.

May 22, aged nearly twenty-three, WILLIAM FRIEND, eldest son of Mr. Thomas DURANT, minister, Poole.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Friday, May 22.

DECLARATION OF INSOLVENCY.

WRIGHT, JOHN, Oxford-street, chemist, May 20.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

ALDERTON, WILLIAM SIBSON, Chancery-lane, City, steel pen manufacturer.

DAVIS, JOSEPH, Fleet-street, City, gun manufacturer.

ROBBINS, CHAUNCEY, and MARTIN, WILLIAM SMITH, Birmingham, merchants.

SPARKE, ALGERNON, Jewin-crescent, Jewin-street, City, wine merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ARMISTEAD, MARY, Crawford-street, Marylebone, miller, June 2 and 30: solicitor, Mr. Philp, Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street.

BACON, JOHN EDWARD, Upper Russell-street, Bermondsey, leather factor, June 4, July 1: solicitor, Mr. Stenning, Long-lane, Bermondsey.

BEATIE, ALEXANDER, and MACNAUGHTEN, FRANCIS, Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street, City, merchants, June 10, July 6: solicitors, Messrs. Baxendale and Co., Great Winchester-street.

BERRY, JOHN, Church-street, Paddington, draper, June 4, July 4: solicitor, Mr. H. Ashley, Shoreditch.

COOBAN, EDMONDSON, Liverpool, common brewer, June 9 and 29: solicitors, Messrs. Cornthwaite and Co., Old Jewry-chambers; and Mr. Pemberton, Liverpool.

EDWARDS, JAMES, Digbeth, Birmingham, iron founder, June 6, July 4: solicitors, Mr. T. R. Hodgson, Birmingham; and Messrs. Vincent and Co., London.

HARVEY, THOMAS HITT, Melcombe Regis, Dorsetshire, cement merchant, June 3, June 25: solicitors, Messrs. Stone and Symonds, Exeter; and Mr. T. Dangerfield, Chancery-lane, London.

HAYNES, JOSEPH, Aldermanbury, woollen warehouseman, June 2, July 9: solicitors, Messrs. Norton and Son, New-street, Bishopsgate.

JONES, GEORGE, Toxteth-park, Lancashire, builder, June 2 and 30: solicitors, Mr. C. Berkeley, Lincoln's Inn-fields; and Mr. G. Jones, Liverpool.

KNIGHT, RICHARD, and KNIGHT, ALFRED, jun., Budge-row, City, stationers, May 28, July 8: solicitor, Mr. Wilkinson, Nicholas-lane.

LEAMAN, ANDREW VALENTINE, and ANDREW, WILLIAM, John-street, Tottenham-court-road, wholesale mahogany merchants, May 26, July 8: solicitors, Messrs. Tilson and Co., Coleman-street.

MARKAM, ROBERT BALLINGER, Wentworth-street, Spitalfields, sawyer, June 1, July 6: solicitor, Mr. Wells, Bell-yard, Doctors'-commons.

M'DOWALL, WALTER, Pemberton-row, Gough-square, City, printer, June 6, July 3: solicitors, Messrs. Holme and Co., New Inn.

PAGE, ROBERT HOWARD, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, innkeeper, June 2, July 9: solicitor, Mr. Brisley, 4, Pancras-lane.

PERRY, JAMES, Harlow, Essex, draper, June 9, July 3: solicitor, Mr. A. Jones, Sise-lane, Bucklersbury.

RHODES, PETER, Manchester, cotton-spinner, June 8 and 24: solicitors, Messrs. Gregory, Faulkner, and Co., Bedford-row, London; and Messrs. Hampson and Son, Manchester.

ROBINSON, ANN, Chester-le-street, Durham, linen-draper, May 29, July 7: solicitors, Messrs. Bell, Broderick, and Bell, Bow-churchyard, London; and Messrs. T. and W. Chater, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

TAYLOR, WILLIAM, Worcester, sharebroker, June 4, July 4: solicitors, Messrs. Motteram and Knowles, Birmingham; and Messrs. Smith and Co., Bedford-row, London.

THORN, ALEXANDER, High Holborn, oilman, June 2, June 30: solicitor, Mr. Philp, Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street.

WHITE, WILLIAM, Morpeth-street, Bethnal-green, builder, May 30, June 25: solicitor, Mr. Manning, Craven-street, Strand.

DIVIDENDS.

David Froeschlen and Simon Price, Dover-street, Piccadilly, tailors, first div. of 2s.; 25, Coleman-street, any Wednesday—Robert M'Entire, Paternoster-row, commission agent, first div. of 2s. 8d.; 25, Coleman-street, any Wednesday—John Morgan Leader, Oxford-street, coach maker, second div. of 1s. 5d.; 25, Coleman-street, any Wednesday—Barnard Lindsay Watson, Cornhill, manufacturer of flags, first div. of 1s. 2¼d.; 25, Coleman-street, any Wednesday—Richard Newhouse, Huddersfield, plumber, final div. of 5s.; 14, Bishopgate-street, Leeds, on any day.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

M'QUAKER, WILLIAM, Glasgow, hatter, May 28, June 17.
PRENTICE, ADAM, Airdrie, spirit dealer, May 27, June 7.

Tuesday, May 26.

BANKRUPTS.

AVERY, JOSEPH, 38, Manchester-street, Manchester-square, dealer in plate, June 5, July 11; solicitor, Mr. Stafford, 13, Buckingham-street, Strand.

BEATON, JOHN, 129, Upper-street, Islington, tailor, June 4, July 9; solicitor, Mr. Rae, Warwick-court, Holborn.

BOINTON, THOMAS, Pickering, Yorkshire, money scrivener, June 8, July 2; solicitors, Messrs. Hawkins and Co., New Boswell-court, London; Mr. Kendall, Pickering; and Messrs. Dunning and Stawman, Leeds.

BRACE, EDWARD HARWOOD, and JAMES ALLEN, Mitre-court, Milk-street, Cheapside, City, warehousemen, June 3, July 7; solicitors, Messrs. Reed and Langford, Friday-street, City, and Messrs. Sale and Co., Manchester.

BURTON, ARTHUR, Ranelagh-wharf, Pimlico, coal merchant, June 10, July 3; solicitor, Mr. Fitch, Bridge-street, Blackfriars.

CAPLETON, RICHARD CARLILE, Cheltenham, tea dealer, June 12, July 7: solicitors, Mr. Paterson, Bouverie-street; and Mr. Roberts, Keynsham, Somersetshire.

CLARKSON, JONATHAN, formerly of 160, Oxford-street, and now of King's-road, Chelsea, grocer's shopman, June 1, July 2: solicitor, Mr. Archbutt, King's-road, Chelsea.

COOPER, WILLIAM, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, hardwareman, June 4, July 11: solicitor, Mr. Goddard, King-street, Cheapside.

CUMMINGS, GEORGE GORDON, late of America-square, Minories, and Mincing-lane, Great Tower-street, and of Gateshead, Durham, tea broker, June 6, July 7: solicitor, Mr. Ruck, Mincing-lane.

DANSON, WILLIAM, Birkenhead, builder, June 9 and 29: solicitors, Messrs. Cornthwaite and Co., Old Jewry-chambers; and Mr. Pemberton, Liverpool.

DAVIS, JOSEPH, 123, Pall-mall, and 27, Ludgate-street, June 9, July 3: solicitor, Mr. Beart, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street.

GOLDTHORP, JOSEPH, Manchester, grocer, June 12, July 2: solicitors, Messrs. Jaques and Edwards, Ely-place, Holborn, London; and Mr. Edward Heath, Manchester.

HERRICK, JOHN DOUGLAS, Colchester, Essex, grocer, June 3, July 7: solicitors, Messrs. Milne and Co., 2, Harcourt-buildings, Temple; and Messrs. Smithers and Goody, Colchester.

HEY, STEPHEN, Colne, Lancashire, worsted manufacturer, June 9, July 3: solicitors, Messrs. Hawkins and Co., 2, Boswell-court, Lincoln's-inn, London; Mr. James Parry, Manchester; and Mr. William Wells, Bradford.

MALLETT, WILLIAM, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Lancashire, milliner, June 9, July 2: solicitors, Mr. Henry Sibley, 5, Wharton-street, Pentonville, London; and Mr. Edward Brookes, Manchester.

NELSON, ROBERT, Great Portland-street, hotel-keeper, June 3, July 3: solicitors, Messrs Watson and Broughtons, Falcon-square.

RUDMAN, JOEL, Bath, oilman, June 3, July 7: solicitor, Mr. C. Berkeley, 52, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

TEMPEST, JOHN, and TEMPEST, WILLIAM HOLDER, Leeds, share brokers, June 8, July 2: solicitors, Messrs. Sudlow and Co., Chancery-lane, London; and Mr. Middleton, Leeds.

WATTS, WILLIAM, Cheltenham, builder, June 9, July 7: solicitors, Mr. Packwood, Cheltenham; and Mr. Sabine, Bristol.

WILKINSON, JAMES, Manchester, grocer, June 16, 30: solicitors, Mr. Henry Hammond, 16, Furnivals'-inn, London; and Messrs. Edward and Robert William Bennett, Manchester.

DIVIDENDS.

Abraham Hindes, John Thompson, and James Thompson, Leeds, stockbrokers, first div. of 6s. on the separate estate of Abraham Hindes, first div. of 20s. on the estates of Abraham Hindes and John Thompson, and first div. of 10d. on the separate estate of James Thompson, any Tuesday; 4, Commercial buildings, Leeds—Daniel Stanton, Bristol, grocer, first div. of 7s., any Wednesday; 19, St. Augustine's-place, Bristol—George Groves, Wick and Abson, Gloucestershire, miller, final div. of ¼d., any Wednesday; 19, St. Augustine's-place, Bristol—Robert Salkeld, late of Fontmel Magna, Dorsetshire, and Charles O'Neil and George Somerville Digby, of the Brinder Works, near Margam, Glamorganshire, ship owners, div. of 2s. on the separate estate of Robert Salkeld, and 5d. on the joint estate, any Friday; 1, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street—Edward Clayton, Coach and Horses, Edgeware-road, licensed victualler, div. of 10s., any Friday; 1, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-st.—James Blyth, Chelmsford, grocer, div. of 2s. 6d., any Friday; 1, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street—Mary Guy and Henry Smith, 59, Farringdon-street, and 31, Ludgate-hill, linen drapers, div. of 1s. 3d., any Friday; 1, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street—John Hardy and George Hardy, Wisbeach St. Peters, Cambridgeshire, grocers, final div. of 19s. 8d., making 20s., on May 27, and two following Wednesdays; 13, Old Jewry, City—Alexander Winton, David Winton, and James Webber, Wood-street, Cheapside, warehousemen, second div. of 4s., May 27, and two following Wednesdays; 13, Old Jewry, City—John Clarke and Joseph Philips, Leicester, bankers, first div. of 10s., any Thursday; 7, Waterloo-street, Birmingham—William Bromley, Gray's-inn-square, Gray's-inn, scrivener, first div. of 11d., May 27, and two following Wednesdays; 13, Old Jewry, City.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HENDERSON, WILLIAM, Inverkeithing, baker, June 1, 29.
LIDDELL, JOHN, Port Glasgow, merchant, May 29, June 19.
SAMUEL, THOMAS, and Co., Glasgow, merchants, June 1, 22.
SHAW, JAMES, SHAW, ROBERT, and SHAW, WILLIAM, Glasgow and Netherlee, calico printers, June 1, 22.
WALKER, HUGH, Glasgow, manufacturer, May 28, June 18.

BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	*Thur.*	*Fri.*	*Sat.*	*Mon.*	*Tues.*
3 per cent. Consols ..	96¼	96⅜	96⅛	96⅜	96⅜	96⅜
Ditto for Account....	96⅜	96⅜	96⅛	96⅜	96⅜	96⅜
3 per cents Reduced..	95⅛	95⅛	95⅛	95⅜	95⅜	95⅜
New 3½ per cent.....	97⅛	96⅞	97⅛	97	97⅛	97⅛
Long Annuities.....	10¼	10¼	10⅛	10⅛	10⅛	10⅛
Bank Stock.....	205	205½	206	205½	205½	205½
India Stock.....	—	244	—	¼267	—	264½
Exchequer Bills.....	15pm	17pm	15	19pm	20pm	18pm
India Bonds	—	—	—	—	30	28

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Belgian	96⅞	Mexican	31⅞
Brazilian	80¾	Peruvian	39¼
Buenos Ayres	39	Portuguese 5 per cents..	81
Columbian.....	18¼	Ditto converted	57
Danish.....	87	Russian	110½
Dutch 2½ per cents	59⅝	Spanish Active	24½
Ditto 4 per cents	91⅞	Ditto Passive	5⅜
French 3 per cents.....	84	Ditto Deferred	16⅞

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham & Gloucester	125	London & Croydon Trunk	22½
Blackwall	8½	London and Greenwich	9
Bristol and Exeter	84½	Ditto New	—
Eastern Counties	23½	Manchester and Leeds	127
Edinburgh and Glasgow	75½	Midland Counties	154
Grand Junction	—	Ditto New Shares	33
Great North of England..	215½	Manchester and Birming.	81
Great Western	154	Midland and Derby	125
Ditto Half	89	Norwich and Brandon ..	25
Ditto Fifths	35½	South Eastern and Dover	40
London and Birmingham	229	South Western	76
London & Birm. ¼ Shares	29	Trent Valley.....	—
London and Brighton....	65½	York and North Midland	102

MARKETS.

MARK LANE, MONDAY, May 25.

The supply of English wheat from the near counties was moderate this morning. Best qualities were taken at our last week's quotations, but much of the secondary could not be disposed of except at a reduction of 1s. per qr. Foreign, either free, bonded, or free on board, was extremely difficult to sell. The show of spring corn has been trifling. Barley, beans, and peas, sold slowly at late prices. We observe no alteration in the value of oats. The millers generally agreed to reduce the top price of flour 4s. per sack.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Wheat, Red.....	48	to 54	Malt, Ordinary	46	to 49
Fine	50	.. 56	Pale	52	.. 60
White	56	.. 62	Rye.....	31	.. 33
Fine	56	.. 63	Peas, Hog	32	.. 34
Flour, per sack	50	.. 53	Maple.....	32	.. 35
Barley	26	.. 27	Boilers.....	39	.. 41
Malting.....	34	.. 35	Beans, Ticks.....	32	.. 34
	s.	s.	DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN.		
Beans, Pigeon	38	to 43	Wheat	16s.	0d.
Harrow	32	.. 39	Barley	9	0
Oats, Feed	24	.. 26	Oats	5	0
Fine	25	.. 28	Rye	9	6
Poland	22	.. 26	Beans	7	6
Potato	29	.. 31	Peas	8	6

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR MAY 22.			AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF THE SIX WEEKS.		
Wheat	57s.	0d.	Wheat	56s.	3d.
Barley	29	4	Barley	30	0
Oats	24	1	Oats	21	9
Rye	33	5	Rye	29	7
Beans	35	11	Beans	37	3
Peas	34	7	Peas.....	37	0

BUTCHERS' MEAT, SMITHFIELD, MONDAY, May 25.

Fresh up from our own grazing districts the arrivals of beasts today were somewhat extensive, and of most excellent quality, owing to which, and the thin attendance of buyers, the beef trade was in a very dull state, at barely, but nothing quotable beneath, the prices obtained on Monday last, and at which a clearance was not effected. The numbers of sheep were, compared with those exhibited for some time past, large and of good quality. Prime old Downs were, however, rather scarce, and which sold at full prices; all other breeds were a mere drug, and in some instances the rates had a downward tendency. Nearly 500 lambs were received from the Isle of Wight. From other quarters the receipts were good. The lamb trade ruled dull, at previous currencies. Calves and pigs, the supplies of which were moderate, sold heavily at late rates.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	2s.	6d. to 4s.	0d.	Veal.....4s.	0d. to 5s.	0d.
Mutton.....	3	2 .. 4	4	Pork.....3	8 .. 5	0

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday....	666	7,700	270	290
Monday ..	3,229	25,790	105	300

NEWGATE and LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, May 25.
Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Inferior Beef	2s.	4d. to 2s.	6d.	Inf. Mutton	3s.	4d. to 3s. 8d.
Middling do	2	6 .. 2	8	Mid. ditto	3	10 .. 4 0
Prime large	2	10 .. 3	2	Prime ditto	4	0 .. 4 2
Prime small	3	4 .. 3	6	Veal	3	10 .. 4 10
Large Pork	3	4 .. 4	4	Small Pork	4	6 .. 4 10

SEEDS, MONDAY.—In cloverseed nothing of interest occurred, there being no inclination to speculate, and the consumptive demand being over. Canaryseed was decidedly cheaper, as was also rapeseed. Other articles remained precisely the same as on Monday last.

POTATOES, SOUTHWARK, Waterside, May 25.—There were no fresh arrivals to this market during the week; notwithstanding, there was but little demand, except for the very best samples; all inferior samples were a complete drug. Owing to the high prices, the warm weather, and the abundant supply of vegetables to the various metropolitan markets, the consumption of potatoes was considerably diminished. The prices ranged as follow:—York Reds, 140s. to 180s.; ditto Regents, 40s. to 120s.; Perth Reds, 115s. to 120s.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Monday.—The arrivals of new Irish butter are few, limited in quantity, the demand of a retail character, and prices from 84s. to 90s. per cwt. With a plentiful supply of foreign, prices further declined to 74s. to 86s. per cwt., according to kind and quality. Of bacon we received liberal supplies, and no increase in the demand; price reduced in consequence 1s. per cwt. on board and landed; and quotations varied from 48s. to 52s. per cwt. Bale and tierce middles in moderate request at 47s. to 50s. per cwt. Hams sold slowly at from 56s. to 66s. per cwt. Lard—Bladders at 60s. to 64s.; kegs, 51s. to 56s. per cwt. Fine and good qualities of cheese are particularly difficult to be had; the quantity is more than usually short so early; we therefore look forward not only to a better demand, but also to better prices ere long. Prices as last quoted.

BREAD.—The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 8d. to 8½d.; of household ditto, 5½d. to 7½d. per 4lbs. loaf.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday.—The market for hops is rather firmer, as the advices from the plantations notice an increase of fly. To these rumours, however, not much importance is attached, as the appearance of fly is usual at this period. There is but a limited quantity of hops on offer. Mid. and East Kent pockets, £5 12s. to £9; Weald of Kent pockets, £5 5s. to £6 10s.; Sussex pockets, £5 5s. to £6 6s. per cwt.

WOOL.—The wool sales have been on daily since our last, and have gone off with tolerable freedom as regards the business done or the biddings, though not at higher rates than those current privately during the past month, or 1d. to 1½d. per lb. lower for colonial, and 1d. for Spanish, than at the last series of public sales. The auctions will continue, it is expected, all the week. Wakefield, May 22.—There has been more life in the trade within the last two or three weeks, and extensive sales have been made on rather better terms than could have been realised for some previous weeks, and the aspect of the market may be reported firm.

COTTON, LIVERPOOL, May 22.—We have had a less animated demand for cotton this week, and the extreme advance of last week has not been quite sustained; the buyer has had some trifling advantage, though not generally amounting to ⅛d. per lb., in American and Surat. Brazils and Egyptians, which did not alter in price last week, have not changed this. Sea Islands are heavy at last week's rates.

TALLOW, MONDAY, May 25.—The market for foreign tallow is firm, and fine Y. C. is worth 43s.; town tallow, 41s. to 41s. 6d., net cash.

HIDE AND SKIN MARKET.

			s.	d.		s.	d.	
Market Hides,	56 to 64lbs.....		0	0	to	0	3	per lb.
Do.	64	72lbs.....	0	0		0	3	"
Do.	72	80lbs.....	0	3		0	3½	"
Do.	80	88lbs.....	0	3½		0	3¾	"
Do.	88	96lbs.....	0	3¾		0	4¼	"
Do.	96	104lbs.....	0	4		0	5	"
Calf Skins			3	0		0	6	each.
Horse Hides.....			13	0		0	0	"
Polled sheep.....			6	0		7	6	"
Kents and Half-breds			4	8		6	6	"
Downs			4	0		5	0	"
Shearlings.....			0	6		0	8	"
Lambs			2	9		4	0	"

HAY, SMITHFIELD, May 23.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Meadow	65s. to 88s.	Oat Straw	32s. .. 34s.
Clover Hay.....	88 .. 115	Wheat Straw.....	34 .. 36s.

COAL EXCHANGE, May 22.

Stewart's, 16s. 0d.; Hetton's, 16s. 0d.; Braddyll's Hetton's, 15s. 3d.; Lambton, 15s. 6d.; Adelaide, 15s. 6d.; West Hartlepool, 15s. 6d. Ships arrived this week, 339.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, MAY 26.

TEA.—Prices continue to be firm. Common sound Congou, 9½d. to 10d.; low yellow leaf Twankay, 1s. 0½d. to 1s. 1d. per cwt. The deliveries are again large, and amount to 496,000lbs. The stock in London amounts to 36,900,000lbs. against 29,500,000lbs. at the same period in 1845.

COFFEE.—1,600 bags Ceylon were offered in auction. The sound were all taken in at lower rates, and the damaged sold at depressed prices.

SUGAR.—100 hhds. Barbadoes, at auction, sold at 50s. to 56s. for low to good yellow, being former rates. The trade only took 256 hhds. and tierces. There was less doing in refined goods, and at lower rates. Standard lumps were offered at 67s. to 67s. 6d., and brown grocery at 66s. to 66s. 6d. per cwt. 10,000 bags Mauritius, in auction, fetched lower rates. Very fine yellow at 54s. 6d. to 55s. 6d., fine 51s. 6d. to 52s. 6d., good 50s. to 51s., middling and good middling 48s. to 48s. 6d., low 47s. to 47s. 6d., fine brown 46s. to 47s., good 45s., middling 43s., low 40s. 6d. to 42s., grey, according to quality, 46s. to 51s., and sugar, drainage damaged, 44s. 6d. to 49s. per cwt. 3,500 bags Bengal, in auction, sold at easier rates.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

MUDIE'S SELECT LIBRARY,
28, Upper King-street, Bloomsbury-square.
Single Subscription, 7s. per Quarter; 21s. per Annum.

This Library is designed to furnish the best and newest works in every department of literature, at a charge which will render them accessible to all.

Family and Country Subscription—Two, Three, Five, or Ten Guineas per Annum.

A Prospectus may be obtained on application.

THE BEST BRANDIES IN LONDON.—
No. 1, Brett's original Improved Brandy ..... 18s.
No. 2, The finest brown Cognac imported..... 24s.
No. 3, Superior old, pale Champagne Brandy.... 26s.

We invite comparison and defy competition. Samples may be freely tasted at our Counting-house, and single gallons or upwards (in flasks or glass bottles), will be delivered to order.
HENRY BRETT and Co., Old Furnival's Inn, Holborn.

THE PERFECT SUBSTITUTE for SILVER.—The high estimate formed by the public during the ten years WILLIAM S. BURTON'S (late RIPPON and BURTON'S) chemically purified material has been before it (made into every useful and ornamental article usually made in silver, possessing, as it does, the characteristic purity and durability of silver), has called into existence the deleterious compounds of "Albata Plate," "Berlin Silver," and other so-called substitutes; they are at best but bad imitations of the genuine articles manufactured and sold only by him.

	Fiddle Pattern.	Threaded Pattern.	King's Pattern.
Table Spoons and Forks, full size per dozen.....	12s.	28s.	30s.
Dessert ditto and ditto, ditto	10s.	21s.	25s.
Tea ditto and ditto, ditto	5s.	11s.	12s.
Gravy ditto.....	3s.	6s.	7s.

NICKEL-ELECTRO-PLATED.—The REAL NICKEL SILVER, introduced and made only by WILLIAM S. BURTON (late RIPPON and BURTON'S), when plated by the patent process of Messrs. Elkington and Co., is, beyond all comparison, the very best article, next to sterling silver, that can be employed as such, either usefully or ornamentally. In the lengthened and increasing popularity of the material itself, and the high character of the method of plating, the public have a guarantee that the articles sold by William S. Burton (and by him only) are, as it regards wear, immeasurably superior to what can be supplied at any other house, while by no possible test can they be distinguished from real silver.

	Fiddle.	Thread.	King's
Teaspoons, per dozen	18s.	32s.	38s.
Dessert Forks "	30s.	46s.	58s.
Dessert Spoons "	30s.	52s.	62s.
Table Forks "	40s.	68s.	75s.
Table Spoons "	40s.	72s.	80s.

Tea and coffee sets, waiters, candlesticks, &c., at proportionate prices. All kinds of re-plating done by the patent process. Detailed catalogues, with engravings, as well as of every ironmongery article, sent (per post) free.

WILLIAM S. BURTON'S (late RIPPON and BURTON'S) Stock of general Furnishing Ironmongery is literally the largest in the world, and as no language can be employed to give a correct idea of its variety and extent, purchasers are invited to call and inspect it.—39, Oxford-street (corner of Newman-street).—Established in Wells-street, 1820.

Under the Patronage of Royalty and the Authority of the Faculty.

KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES.—A Remedy for all disorders of the Pulmonary Organs. In difficulty of breathing, in redundancy of phlegm, in incipient Consumption (of which Cough is the most positive indication) they are of unerring efficacy. In Asthma, and in Winter Cough, they have been never known to fail.

Keating's Cough Lozenges are free from every deleterious ingredient; they may, therefore, be taken at all times by the most delicate female and by the youngest child, while the Public Speaker and the Professional Singer will find them invaluable in allaying the hoarseness and irritation incidental to vocal exertion, and consequently a powerful auxiliary in the production of melodious enunciation.

Prepared and sold in boxes, 1s. 1½d., and tins, 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 10s. 6d. each, by THOMAS KEATING, Chemist, &c., No. 79, St. Paul's Churchyard, London. Sold retail by all druggists and patent medicine vendors in the kingdom.

RECENT TESTIMONIAL.

London, 68, Cheapside, Dec. 3, 1845.

Dear Sir,—Having for some years past, as the winter approached, been subject to a severe cough, my attention was lately called to your Cough Lozenges; and, after taking two small boxes in the course of the last three weeks, I have no hesitation in saying that, in my opinion, they are the best remedy, and have given me more ease than anything I have ever met with. I am, dear sir, yours truly,
(Signed) WILLIAM WHITE.
To Mr. Keating, 79, St. Paul's Churchyard.

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL, for inducing an exuberant growth of HAIR, and for imparting a permanent gloss, silky softness, and a tendency to curl, remains unrivalled—weakness, premature greyness, relaxation, and tendency to fall off, being entirely prevented by this "incomparable" oil.

Its purifying properties dispel all scurf and dandriff; and for children it is especially recommended as forming the basis of a beautiful Head of Hair. As a mild stimulative, corrective, and preservative agent, Rowland's Macassar Oil has the exclusive patronage of the several Sovereigns and Courts of Europe, and with rank, fashion, and discernment, supersedes all preparations of professedly similar import.

Being universally preferred, its consequent great demand excites the cupidity of unprincipled shopkeepers, who vend the most spurious trash as "Macassar Oil." It is therefore imperative on Purchasers to see that the words "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" are engraved in two lines on the wrapper; and on the back of the wrapper nearly 1,500 times, containing 29,028 letters. Price 3s. 6d., 7s., family bottles (equal to four small), 10s. 6d., and double that size, 21s. per bottle.

Sold by the Proprietors, A. ROWLAND and SON, 20, Hatton-garden, London; and by Chemists and Perfumers.

, All other "MACASSAR OILS" are FRAUDULENT COUNTERFEITS!!

GATHERCOLE *v.* MIALL.

AT a Meeting of the Committee appointed to receive Subscriptions to defray the Costs of the Defendant in the above law suit, on Monday, the 18th inst., the following Resolutions were adopted :—

1. That the Committee have heard with surprise and indignation, that, after a request, made by Mr. Miall's solicitor to the town solicitor of the plaintiff, for a statement in writing, for the information of the Committee, of the total amount to be paid to the plaintiff (which was accordingly given), and after Mr. Miall's solicitor had, on Friday, stated to the plaintiff's agent, in reply to an application for the amount, that a cheque was expected on Tuesday morning, to which delay no objection whatever was made, yet, without the slightest warning, on the following day an execution was put into Mr. Miall's private residence, and remained there until Monday morning, to the great annoyance of his family, and at an additional expense to him of nearly £20.

2. That the treasurer be authorised to give his cheque for the sum of £381 5s. 6d., to discharge the plaintiff's account and costs of the execution.

3. That the best and most cordial thanks of the Committee are due, and are hereby tendered, to the numerous friends of religious liberty and the freedom of the press who have so spontaneously and generously contributed to meet the heavy expenses incurred in the above lawsuit.

4. That, as it is desirable to effect a speedy settlement of all the accounts in this case, and as the above amount discharges only the claims of Mr. Gathercole, leaving the defendant's expenses in the trial at Cambridge, and in his subsequent application to the Court of Exchequer for a new trial, besides incidental disbursements, undischarged, the Committee earnestly request that all subscriptions collected for this case, be sent in to the Treasurer forthwith.

A. PELLATT, Treasurer,

Falcon Glass-works, Blackfriars.

Amount advertised last week £715 2 4

ADDITIONAL SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Friends at St. Ninians and Stirling, per Rev. R. Frew	1	1	0
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The Revs. Dr. Campbell, W. Brock (of Norwich), A. J. Morris (of Holloway), C. Stovel, John Burnet, E. Miall, Esq., and other gentlemen, will address the meeting. Special arrangements will be made for the presence of Ladies. The doors of the large room will be opened at Six.

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